

ARS ISLAMICA

THE RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART • INSTITUTE
OF FINE ARTS • UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN • VOL. VI

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PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L103.7

FIG. 1—SÎN, MANÂR AND MASDĪD FROM NORTHWEST

MATERIAL FOR A CORPUS OF EARLY IRANIAN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

BY MYRON BEMENT SMITH

III. TWO DATED SELJUK MONUMENTS AT SĪN (ISFAHAN)

NAME, LOCATION, LITERATURE

SĪN¹ IS A SMALL VILLAGE IN THE VAST PLAIN OF MELON FIELDS TO THE NORTH OF ISFAHAN. It lies northeast of and near the town of Gaz. Yāqūt correctly locates Sīn four farsakhs north of Isfahan,² and it is mentioned by Sam'ānī and Ibn Manda.³ Writing in 740 H., Mustawfī gives Sīn on the Isfahan–Kashan itinerary, on the shorter Miyānī route (to avoid Mūrča Khūrd) between Isfahan and Wāsiṭa.⁴ It therefore lies in Barkhuvār, the fifth Isfahan bulāk.⁵ That Sīn was of some importance as a caravan station is indicated by its immense, baked-brick caravanserai, dated 730 and 731 H.⁶ With the construction by the Safawids of the elegant caravanserai Mādar-i Shāh,⁷ the Sīn route lost its popularity in favor of the Gaz–Mūrča Khūrd–Sūh route. Thus, in 1809 James Morier passed far to the west of Sayin, where, he was told, grew the best melons of the country.⁸ At the end of that century General Houtum-Schindler mentions Sīn “with an old minaret”;⁹ this is the only literature on its monuments that I have observed. This manār was given a brief notice in *Athār-é Irān*.¹⁰

¹ Shows on *Survey of India* (1 inch to 4 miles) map, Sheet No. 9-P (2d rev. prelim. ed.; Calcutta, 1928).

² Cf. P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographien* (Leipzig, 1925), V, 657; also, Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān* (*Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*), ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), III, 222.

³ As the home of Abu Mansur Muhammad b. Zakariyā b. al-Hasan al-Sīnī (393–432 H.), the traditionalist, sometime cadī of Sīn; cf. B. de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique . . . de la Perse . . .* (Paris, 1861), p. 338; *vide* Miles's “Epigraphical Notice,” p. 11, footnote 2, of this number of *Ars Islamica*.

⁴ Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, text, Ed. G. Le Strange, “Gibb Series” (London, 1915), XXIII, Pt. 1, 184; and trans., G. Le Strange (London, 1919), XXIII, Pt. 2, 175.

⁵ Cf. Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 51, trans., p. 57; P. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 636; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 206.

⁶ A fairly large example, of baked brick on čīna foundation, rectangular in plan, with seven round bastions; a bastion disposed at each corner and midway in each wall but the façade, where its place is taken by a monumental

arched entrance which preserves carved gač decoration and a building inscription (*Fig. 6*) giving the date 731 H. (1330–31 A.D.); *vide* inscriptions 6–7, in Miles, *infra*. The entrance leads to a small octagonal vestibule, in the polygonal groined cupola of which are badly smoked remains of further gač decoration containing a fragmentary inscription (*Fig. 12*) with the date Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da, 730 H. (mid-August, 1330 A.D.); *vide* inscription 8, in Miles, *infra*. The interior of the caravanserai has been wrecked for its brick.

⁷ This is 45 km. from Isfahan on the Teheran motor road. A solid structure, it stood intact until 1934, when part of the lacelike façade parapet was destroyed for bricks for a garage in Mūrča Khūrd.

⁸ J. Morier, *A [First] Journey Through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople . . .* (London, 1812), p. 174.

⁹ A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak* (London, 1896), p. 125.

¹⁰ M. B. Smith, “The Manārs of Isfahān,” *Athār-é Irān*, I (1936), Fasc. 2, 327 ff.; also M. B. and K. D. Smith, “Islamic Monuments of Iran,” *Asia*, XXXIX (1939), No. 4, 214–15.

From the *Shamsābād* quarter of Isfahan, Sīn may be reached today by the old pack road, but this may be deep in dust or mud. The best approach, which takes two hours by motor and is by no means a sure one, is by a detour of about 43 kilometers on the present Teheran road, then by a track for 22 kilometers across the *biyābān* to the southeast. In wet weather this track is impassable for vehicles.

Sīn is the property of *Šārim al-Dawla Akbar Mirza*, to whom I am indebted for calling its monuments to my attention,¹¹ as well as for the use of his garden house on the occasions of my three visits to the village.¹²

METHOD OF STUDY

For this study the plan (*Fig. 2*) was measured with steel tapes, drawn on the spot to the scale of 1:50, later traced, and then checked with the monument. The inscription on the base of the *manār* (*Figs. 16* and *20*) was cleared temporarily of an earth roof fill and recorded by photographs and an ink rubbing.¹³ The other inscriptions were recorded by copying¹⁴ and by photographs. The *masdjid*-*manār* group was recorded on eighty-seven negatives, the *caravan-serai* on thirty-three negatives.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION

The *masdjid* group (*Fig. 2*) consists of a sanctuary, a *ṣaḥn* with ablution *ḥawḍ*,¹⁵ a *zami-stān*, and a *manār*. The *ṣaḥn* is entered from the bazaar to the northeast, through a shallow Mongol *iwan*. The narrow vaulted *riwāḳ* to the southeast has been recently rebuilt. To the northwest, at a lower level, is a vaulted *zami-stān* of no great age. Near the north corner, flanked by a stairway to the *kūča*, rises the *manār* (*Fig. 1*), its three lower meters concealed in the *zami-stān* walls. On the *qibla* side of the *ṣaḥn* is a vaulted *iwan*, not earlier than Mongol times and recently repaired,¹⁶ beyond which the sanctuary is entered down one step and through a wide arch. Save for the addition of a rude masonry *mimbar* built into the west corner (*Fig. 20*) and certain obliterations of the *mihrab* tympana decoration (*Fig. 20*) the sanctuary interior is intact. The *mihrab* points 137 degrees west of true north.¹⁷

¹¹ On March 16, 1935.

¹² On Nov. 11, 1935; Nov. 13 to 15, 1935; and April 3, 1936, which fell on the tenth of Muharram; the entire village lent courteous interest.

¹³ In order to show the actual state of this inscription (an undistorted photograph being impossible), Figure 20 was traced from a photograph of this rubbing.

¹⁴ In copying, assistance was given by my *munshi*, Agha Sarkis Haglatian, and by Agha *Ḥadjdī Tēhrānī* of Sīn.

¹⁵ The stones of the *ḥawḍ* are said to be spoils from the ruined madrasa at *Dja'farābād*, a deserted Safawid

village *ca.* 8 km. to the northwest, remarkable for its monumental plan of broad avenues disposed at right angles, the main axis north to south. On Nov. 16, 1935, I examined the ruins and found the madrasa a late-Safawid ruin of mud brick with stone orthostats, without inscription, decoration, or unusual plan. Cf. Houtum-Schindler, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ On the first of *Djumādā I*, 1269 H. (Feb. 10, 1853 A.D.); *vide* inscription 5, in Miles, *infra*.

¹⁷ Not far from the true *qibla*. The *masdjid* at *Bar-siān* (528 H.), near-by and almost contemporary, points 16 degrees farther to the south.

SANCTUARY

The small rectangular sanctuary (*Fig. 2*) conceived as a compromise between the iwan-sanctuary and the domed-cube sanctuary types, may have been originally isolated. The intrados of its stilted, four-centered entrance arch (*Fig. 17*) is decorated with a brick-gač-mosaic revetment in a network design of geometrically pitted gač stars and hexalateral brick rays grouped in overlapping disks.¹⁸ Below the exterior *qibla* wall a *čīna* foundation is visible. The walls are of baked brick, carefully laid in gač mortar.¹⁹ Each rising joint of the interior is decorated with the impression of a four-pronged tool in the soft gač (*Fig. 18*).²⁰

The sanctuary is covered by a splendid stalactite cupola (*Figs. 4, 19, and 21*). The intrados is of baked brick of fractional dimensions set in a herringbone pattern which has been emphasized by picking out certain joints with white paint. The corners show the trilobed niche of Isfahan Seljuk squinches.²¹ The stalactites are in three tiers; the top two show in reflected plan (*Figs. 19 and 21*) as ten-pointed stars. The crown is closed by a miniature hemispheroidal dome of slightly oval plan, its smooth intrados painted white. This calotte springs from a shallow, decagonal penetration in a horizontal, ten-pointed soffit. The presence of this soffit at once places these stalactites in the nonstructural *muqarnas* category.²²

The secret of the *muqarnas* suspension is revealed on the exterior (*Fig. 15*), where the mud-brick and clay fill used to smooth over the extrados has eroded sufficiently to show an intricate armature of arches. From this evidence a partly conjectural plan (*Fig. 22*) was drawn. The most important elements of this armature are the squinch arches *C-D* (*Fig. 22*) and the heavy transverse arches *E-F*. Instead of a great dome resting directly on the squinch arches, as would be normal for an Iranian domed cube, the squinch arch is here retained only as a support for the trilobed stalactite form beneath it.²³ The miniature calotte, which we may imagine is a vestige of the dome on squinch arches, is supported, insofar as I was able to determine without opening the cupola, by a makeshift of dogleg arches springing from *G* (the crown of the wall arch *A-B*), and deflected at the crown, *H*, to lean against the transverse arch, *E-F*. My knowledge of local constructional expedients suggests wood lintels, *L*. The abutting arch, *J-K*, is also conjectural. No evidence was seen for a pair of longitudinal arches.

A comparison of the reflected plan (*Fig. 21*) with the armature plan (*Fig. 22*) reveals

¹⁸ Cf. Smith, "Material for a Corpus of Early Iranian Islamic Architecture, II, Manār and Masjid, Barsiān," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), Figs. 21, 25, 27. For the principle of this type of design, cf. E. Herzfeld, in F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* (Berlin, 1920), II, under Baghdad and Mosul.

¹⁹ Brick dimensions: 21 cm. square by 4.5 cm. thick; 10 courses lay 60 cm.

²⁰ Similar, but larger, than those of the manār base inscription (*Fig. 16*).

²¹ For illustration see Smith, *op. cit.*, Figs. 4-6. This niche also occurs in the Seljuk gač mihrab, M.-i *Dj.*,

Kashan; in the main mihrab at M.-i *Dj.*, Demāwend; and in the squinches at Yazd, Imāmzāda Dawāzdah Imām, etc.

²² Cf. Smith, "The Manārs of Isfahān," p. 334, footnote 2.

²³ Stalactites with supporting arch superposed occur in squinches at Isfahan, M.-i *Dj.*, sanctuary (465-85 H.) and Gunbad-i *Khāk* (481 H.); at Barsiān, M.-i *Dj.* (528 H.). Also in stalactite cupolas at Isfahan, Imāmzāda Bābā *Qāsim*, and Madrasa Imāmī; and in Iraq, grave ruin at al-Nadīmī (ca. 600 H.); for an illustration of the last, see Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, III (1911), Pl. 35 (lower illustration).

amazingly few structural relationships between the armature and the stalactites. Those parts of the stalactite ceiling which do not rest on the side walls or wall arches, or are not cantilevered (with or without the help of wood), are therefore pendant from the armature, held by cohesion of the gač mortar or by palm-fiber rope. The stalactites are a revetment; their structural principle is not superposition but suspension cohesion. Such are the means with which the brilliant effect of the stalactite cupola (*Fig. 19*) has been achieved.

The mihrab form and composition (*Fig. 3*) is typical for the period.²⁴ The rectangular gorge frame is decorated by a carved gač inscription²⁵ (*Fig. 11*), the Neskhî characters of which are painted dark brown and in higher relief than a double-stem arabesque, accented with white, which wanders over the cobalt blue open background.²⁶ The high-stilted, four-centered niche arch, with brick-gač-mosaic tympanum,²⁷ is supported by engaged cylindrical colonettes and cubical vase capitals (*Fig. 5*) of cut brick.²⁸ The tympanum of the upper niche has been plastered partly over, that of the lower niche completely.

On the kibla wall, directly above the mihrab and in the lower tier of stalactites, is a small panel (*Figs. 4 and 8*) of carved and painted gač, containing a ten-line Neskhî inscription, of white painted characters and arabesques²⁹ in relief on a blue painted ground, which dates the construction of the entire sanctuary in 529 H. (1134-35 A.D.).³⁰

MANĀR

The conico-cylindrical manār shaft rests on a high, tapering, octagonal plinth (*Fig. 1*), which in turn is supported by a square base with one chamfered corner.³¹ A wall, possibly part of an original masdjîd temenos, once took off to the southwest of this base, flush with its southeast face. The manār masonry is baked brick laid in gač mortar.³² It shows no signs of

²⁴ Cf. mihrabs at Isfahan, M.-i Dj., in 465-85 H. sanctuary (now plastered over and denatured); Gulpāi-gān, M.-i Dj. (498-511 H.); Barsiān, M.-i Dj. (528 H.); and Ardistān, M.-i Dj. (553 H., date of gač decoration).

²⁵ *Vide* inscription 4, in Miles, *infra*.

²⁶ Other Isfahan examples of Neskhî with arabesque background: 528 H., Buzān, mihrab, cf. M. B. Smith and E. Herzfeld, "Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzūn, A Dated Seldjūq Ruin," *Archaeol. Mitteil. aus Iran*, VII (1935), Pts. 2-3, Figs. 2, 3, and 8; 528 H., Barsiān, mihrab, cf. Smith, "Material for a Corpus . . . , II, Barsiān," Figs. 28, 32; 533 H. [Harrān or Hurrān], mihrab, cf. M. Aga-Oglu, "An Islamic Tombstone and Mihrāb of the Twelfth Century," *Bull. Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston), XXXI (1933), 42-44 (I shall attempt to demonstrate the Isfahan provenance of this mihrab); and 553 H., Ardīstān, M.-i Dj., large and small mihrabs.

²⁷ Cf. Isfahan, M.-i Dj., 481 H. dome chamber (Gunbad-i Khāk), tympanum, and spandrels of corner niche, illustration in M. B. Smith, "Persian Islamic Brickwork,"

Architectural Forum, LVII (1932), 60; also, M. B. and K. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

²⁸ Cf. colonettes and caps, Isfahan, M.-i Dj., 515 H., portal, illustrated by my Neg. No. L91.23 in A. Godard, "Isfahān," *Athār-e Īrān*, II (1937), Fasc. 1, Fig. 2; also Smith, "Material for a Corpus . . . , II, Barsiān," Figs. 27, 39.

²⁹ Cf. footnote 26.

³⁰ *Vide* inscription 3, in Miles, *infra*.

³¹ The total height of the octagonal plinth (ca. 4.50 m.) and the shaft is 29.4 m., to which may be added ca. 3 m. for the buried square base. Dimensions, at base of shaft: diameter, 3.10 m.; circular core, 0.5 m.; stair passage, 0.93 m.; wall shell, 0.37 m.; at top of shaft: diameter, 1.8 m.; core, 0.24 m.; passage, 0.44 m.; shell, 0.34 m.

³² Brick dimensions, shaft interior: 21 cm. square by 4.5 cm. thick; exterior: up to 27 cm. long by 4.5 cm. thick, ten courses lay 60 to 63 cm.

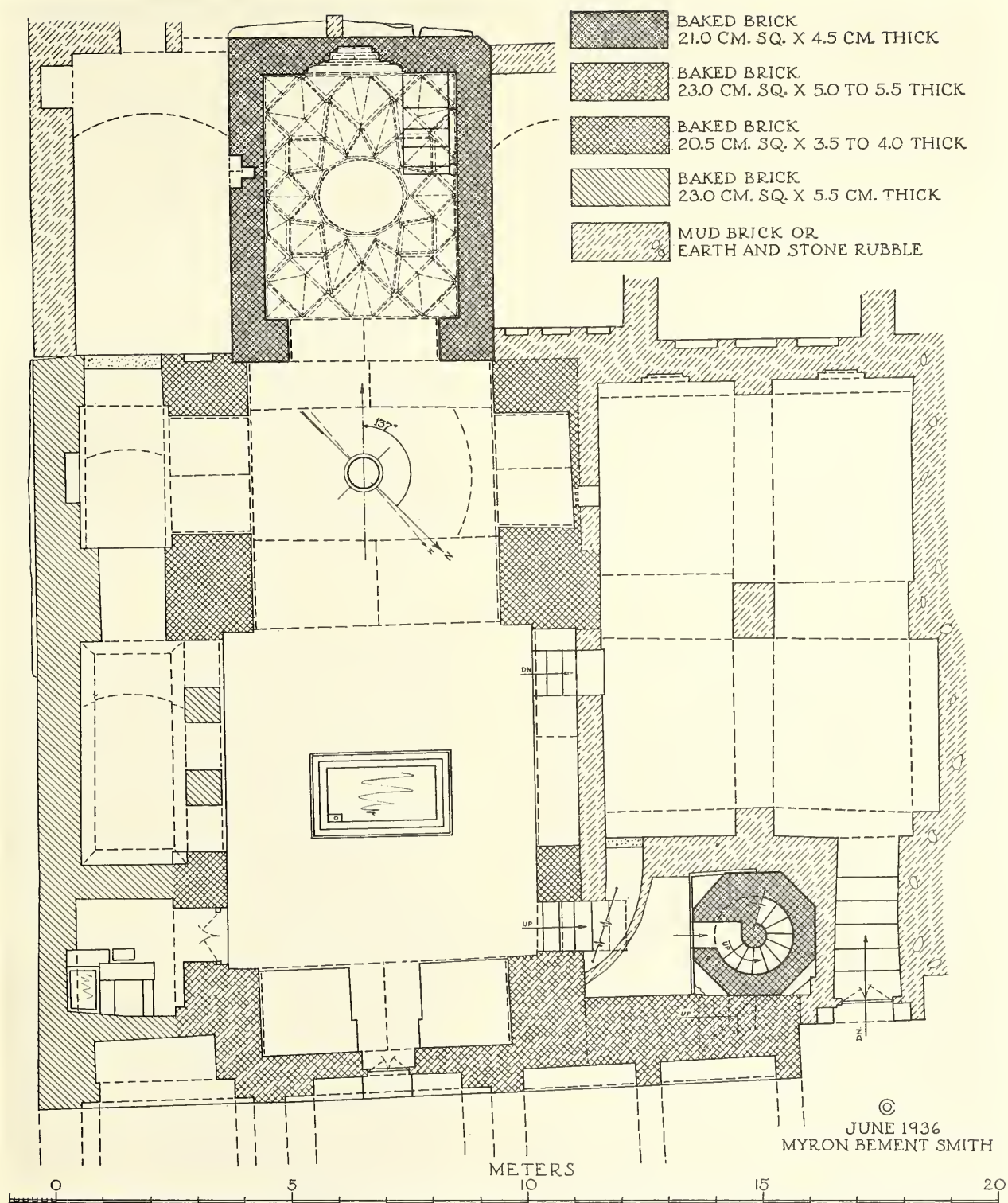
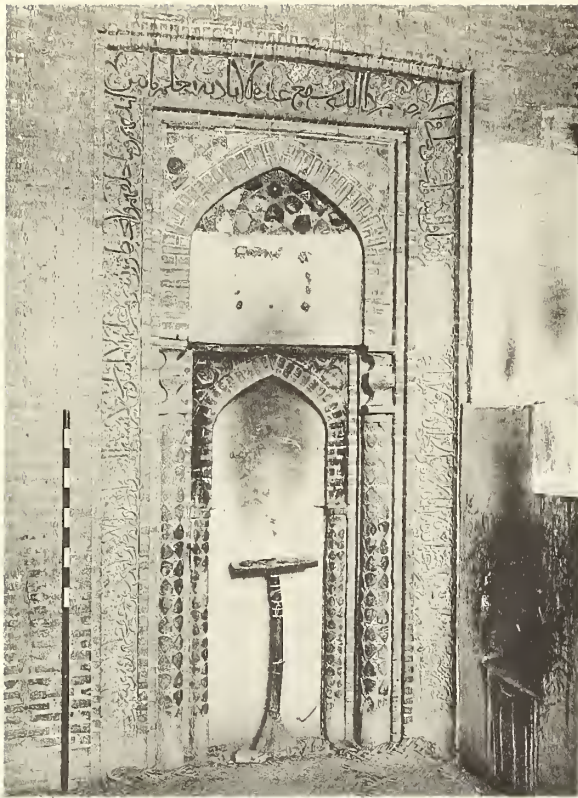
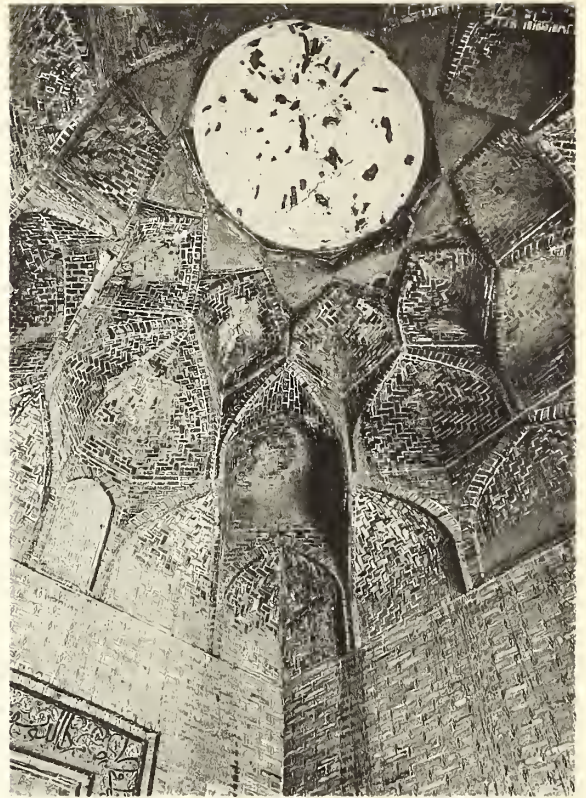


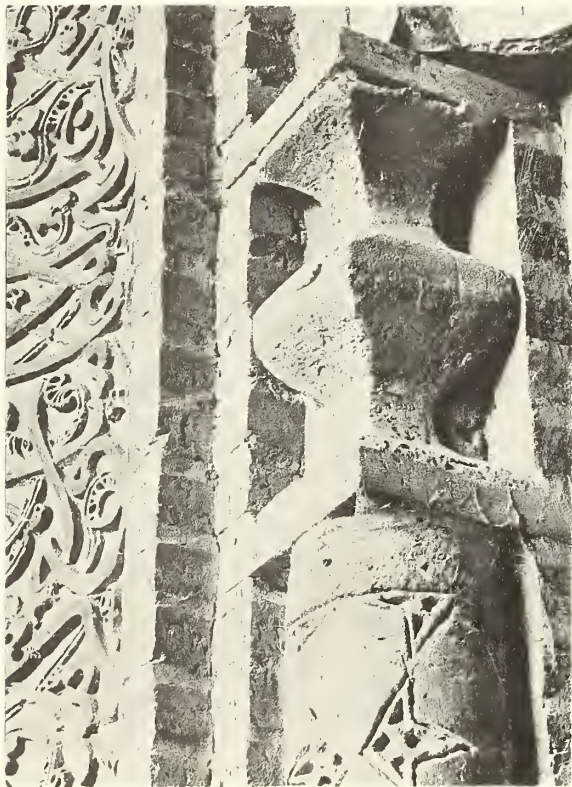
FIG. 2—SĪN, MASDJID-MANĀR GROUP, PLAN



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 821
FIG. 3—SĪN, MASDĪJID, SANCTUARY, INTERIOR, MIHRAB



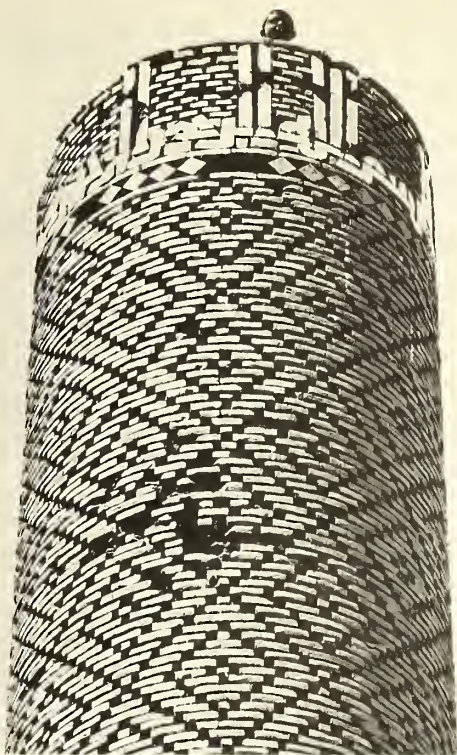
PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 820
FIG. 4—SĪN, MASDĪJID, SANCTUARY, SOUTH CORNER
STALACTITE CUPOLA



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L103.23
FIG. 5—SĪN, MASDĪJID, MIHRAB, COLONNETTE
AND CAPITAL



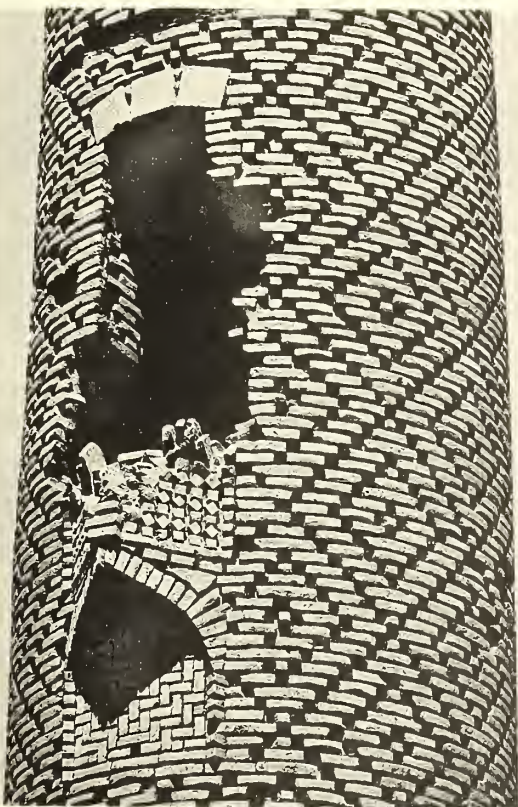
PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L130.34
FIG. 6—SĪN, CARAVANSERAI, ENTRANCE, GAČ
DECORATION



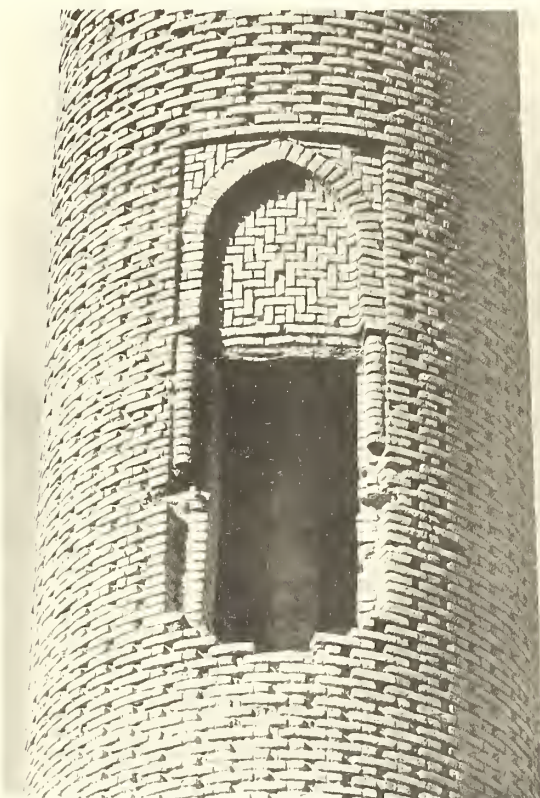
PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. No. 950
FIG. 7—SÎN, MANÂR, FAÏENCE INSCRIPTION AT TOP



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. No. 952
FIG. 8—SÎN, MASDJID, SANCTUARY, INSCRIPTION
IN CARVED GAÇ



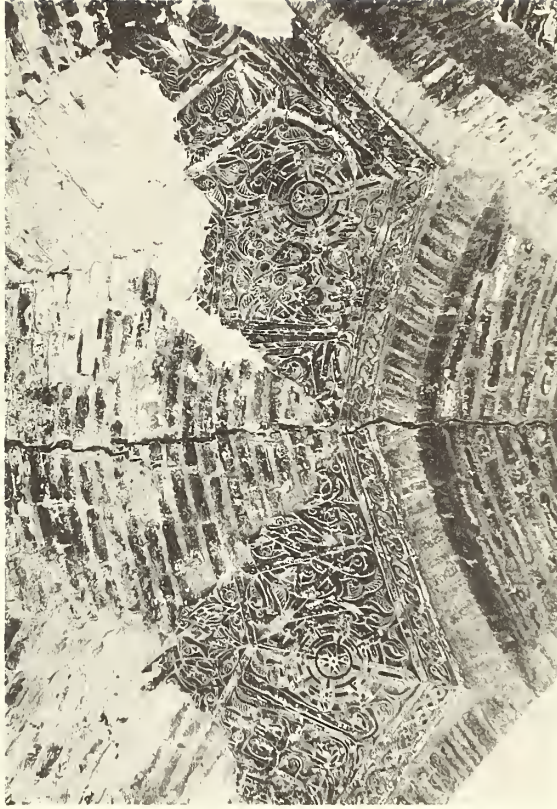
PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. No. L129.32
FIG. 9—SÎN, MANÂR, WINDOW IN SHAFT



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. No. 810
FIG. 10—ISFAHAN, MANÂR ČIHIL DUKHTARÂN
WINDOW IN SHAFT



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L103.21
FIG. 11—SIN, MASJID, SANCTUARY, MIHRAB, INSCRIPTION IN
CARVED GAÇ, DETAIL



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L130.1
FIG. 12—SIN, CARAVANSERAI, VAULT SOFFIT, INSCRIPTION IN CARVED GAÇ



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L100.34
FIG. 13—GULPAIGAN, MASJID-I DJUM'A, ŞAHN, INSCRIPTION ON
STONE WELLHEAD



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L81.1d
FIG. 14—SÁWA, MANÁR OF MASJID-I DJUM'A, INSCRIPTION ON SHAFT

rebuilding or repair. Certain courses of the base and plinth are of odd-sized brick, as is not unusual.³³ Access to the spiral stair is by two openings, one in the base of the octagon, the other low in the base of the shaft. Midway up the shaft, facing the *qibla*, is a large window (*Figs. 1* and *9*) furnished with a triangular balcony recalling the openings in similar position in the Manār Čihil Dukhtarān (*Fig. 10*) at Isfahan (501 H.)³⁴ and the manār at Gār (515 H.).³⁵ Above this window and the other two openings are fragments from wood relieving lintels, which were set flush in the brickwork above their segmental arches. Because of settling at the window the shaft has buckled (*Fig. 1*).

The shaft decoration is by a diaper of brick stretchers; their wide rising joints make interlacing spirals that form and frame diagonally disposed squares with accented centers (*Figs. 7* and *9*). An umbriferous pointing of geometrically pitted gač plugs was projected, but it was not carried beyond a small area near the base of the shaft.³⁶ The top of the shaft has a damaged, one-line, Kufic inscription zone³⁷ (*Fig. 7*) in brick-faïence-mosaic technique; the turquoise glaze is on the outer face of the cut-brick characters.³⁸ On the southeast face of the square base, partly concealed by the earth fill of a later vault, is a damaged, brick-mosaic,³⁹ four-line, Kufic inscription (*Figs. 16* and *20*), dating the manār in Radjab, 526 H. (May–June, 1132 A.D.).⁴⁰

SIGNIFICANCE

The masdjid and manār at Sīn add two more documents to the list of dated Seljuk monuments in the Isfahan district.⁴¹

The manār is one of a group of three Isfahan examples, all dated, peculiar, within the

³³ Brick dimensions, square plinth: 34 x—x 5 cm.; 21 x—x 4 cm.; 23 x—x 3 cm.; 25 x—x 3.5 cm.; 39.5 x—x 6 cm.

³⁴ For general view, cf. Smith, "Manārs of Isfāhan," *Fig. 209*.

³⁵ Illustration, *ibid.*, *Fig. 213*.

³⁶ Cf. the unfinished pointing of the Barsiān manār, Smith, "Material for a Corpus . . . , II, Barsiān," *Figs. 2, 10*. The Sīn pointing resembles that of the plinth of the manār at Gār, illustrated in Smith, "Manārs of Isfāhān," *Fig. 214*.

³⁷ *Vide* inscription 2 in Miles, *infra*.

³⁸ The color is clear, but of varying intensity. There is no slip.

³⁹ The revetment was applied in precast slabs; the face is 17 cm. out from the core, which shows in *Fig. 16*. The Kufic has a salience of 1 cm. The gač tooling of the rising joints of the background is similar to that of the inscription panel of the 515 H. manār at Gār (illustrated in Smith, *op. cit.*, *Fig. 214*), and those of the 515 H. portal of the Isfahan Djum'a (illustrated by my photograph,

Neg. No. L91.23 in A. Godard, *op. cit.*, *Fig. 2*).

⁴⁰ *Vide* inscription 1, in Miles, *infra*.

⁴¹ My list now shows the following. The asterisks indicate my own contributions.

465–85 H. Isfahan, Masdjid-i Djum'a, sanctuary dome
481 H. Isfahan, Masdjid-i Djum'a, NE. axial dome (Gunbad-i Khāk)
*491 H. Barsiān, Manār
501 H. Isfahan, Manār Čihil Dukhtarān
515 H. Isfahan, Masdjid-i Djum'a, doorway
*515 H. Gār, Manār
*526 H. Sīn, Manār
528 H. Buzān, Imāmzādah Karrār, adjoining ruin
*[5]28 H. Barsiān, Masdjid-i Djum'a, sanctuary
*529 H. Sīn, Masdjid, sanctuary
*533 H. Ĥarrān, mihrab (Boston Museum of Fine Arts)
*555 H. Isfahan, gravestone (my Neg. No. 541, unpublished)
563 H. Isfahan, Imāmzāda Ahmad, stone in street façade

limits of my observation, in that each has a window facing the *ḳibla*.⁴² The faïence on this *manār* is the earliest, dated, exterior Islamic example to be noted.⁴³

In my opinion, the sanctuary at Sīn should not be cited in support of the contention that there was an isolated sanctuary type of Iranian mosque plan.⁴⁴ To the extent of my present knowledge, the Sīn sanctuary is unique in that its plan is that of the *iwan* sanctuary unified with that of the domed-cube sanctuary.

The Sīn stalactite cupola is the earliest actually dated example that I have noted.⁴⁵ Its

⁴² Was the window used for the second part of the *ādhan*?

⁴³ My list now shows:

- 526 H. Sīn, *Manār*
- 542 H. Maragha, Gunbad-i *Surkh*
- 563 H. Maragha, circular tomb
- 582 H. Nakhichewan, Tomb of Mu'mina *Khātūn*
- 593 H. Maragha, Gunbad-i *Kabūd*
- 543-630 H. Irbil, *Manār*

Note that all are turquoise blue. For the Maragha monuments, A. Godard, "Notes complémentaires sur les tombeaux de Marāgha," *Athār-é Īrān*, I (1936), Fasc. 1, 125 ff. For Irbil, Herzfeld, in Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, 316-17 (discussion).

Not included in this list is Damghan, *Manār-i Masdjid-i Djāmi'* Imam Husain, undated, which Herzfeld would place toward 500 H., cf. *Sālnāma Pārs 1307 H.* (Teheran), or ca. 500-550 H., cf. his "Khorasan," *Der Islam*, XI (1921), 169. Near the top is a Kufic inscription zone of green-blue glazed plaques; cf. F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst* (Berlin, 1910), II, 112.

Also excluded are interior examples, notably *Ḳazvīn*, *Masdjid-i Djāmi'*, 507 H. and later; *Ḳazvīn*, *Madrassa Ḥaidariya*, undated; and *Konya*, *Masdjid-i Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn*, *mīhrab*, 616 H., cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, 121.

⁴⁴ The isolated sanctuary plan type in the history of the Iranian mosque was first suggested by A. Godard, "Les Anciennes mosquées d'Iran," *Journ. de Teheran*, Oct. 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, 1936. My earlier claim that such a plan existed at Barsiān (cf. Smith, "Material for a Corpus . . . , II, Barsiān, pp. 39-40) has now been weakened by information in my Barsiān inscription "M" (*ibid.*, p. 37 and Fig. 34) which Mme Y. Godard overlooked but which J. Sauvaget has had the kind interest to publish, cf. his "Notes épigraphiques sur quelques monuments persanes, I, Grande mosquée de Barsiān," *Ars Islamica*, V (1938), Pt. 1, 103-4. This inscription, which he states (*ibid.*, p. 104): "En tout état de cause . . . est antérieure aux *ṣafawīds*," refers to an act ". . . en même temps que le *ṣaḥn* restauré . . .," cf. his translation, *loc. cit.* In

other words, the domed sanctuary was not the only structure bordering on the *ṣaḥn* up to the erection of the *ḳibla iwan* inscribed in the name of *Shāh Ṭahmāsp I* (930-84 H.).

Sauvaget's hint led to second thoughts which have further undermined my certainty. I grant that photographs of the sanctuary (cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, Figs. 2-3) show that the profiles of the arches of the last flanking structures were post-Seljuk, probably *Safawid*—*Timurid* at the earliest. Further, my examinations of the fabric left no doubt but that the secondary arches in the two larger northwest sanctuary openings and the arch responds cut into that outer wall (*ibid.*, Fig. 3) were considerably later than the sanctuary. Even so, I must now ask the "isolationists": What evidence can be offered to prove that the Seljuk mosque did not have contemporary mud-brick structures adjoining the domed sanctuary on either flank? Physical evidence for or against will be difficult to establish because these lower covered areas would need no anchorage to the sanctuary; they could be swept away without leaving a trace on the baked brick walls. One may note that the exclusion of baked brick to the higher-built part of the mosque would have been structurally logical (it was in the Mongol structural decadence that mud brick were often used for the cubes of domed sanctuaries).

To these structural considerations must be added the fact of the rigorous climate of the Iranian plateau. The open *muṣallā*, usable for two months in the spring and a like period in the autumn, certainly existed in Iran (until 1936 there was a large one in Isfahan), but the mosques claimed as isolated sanctuary examples were not such "places for prayer," they were *mimbar* mosques, and as such had to be suitable for congregational prayer and assembly at all seasons of the year. Because it was a *madrassa*, the same utilitarian reasons must apply to the exception, the *Ḥaidariya* of *Ḳazvīn*.

⁴⁵ STALACTITE CUPOLAS, IRAN

Isfahan, *Djum'a*, various bays, particularly a group near the south corner, illustrated in Smith, "Persian Islamic Brickwork," p. 61. Cf. E. Lutyens, "Persian Brick-

terminal calotte⁴⁶ is a vestige of the dome of the traditional Iranian domed cube. Its corner

work," *Country Life* (London), LXXIII (1933), 118-23, Figs. 5, 10; the dates in the photograph captions, through no fault of Sir Edwin, are wrong; his observations, being those of an architect, are penetrating; (p. 118, change "lime" to "gač"). Also, A. Gabriel, "Le Masjid-i Djum'a d'Işfahān," *Ars Islamica*, II (1935), Pt. 1, 36, suggests ca. 759-76 H., certainly too late, the idea perhaps arising from the error in the caption of Fig. 29, which is, in reality, the cupola of Imāmzāda Bābā Kāsim. H. Terrasse, *L'Art hispano-mauresque des origines au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1932), addendum, 473, in stating that "... ces voutes ... correspondent à des parties de la mosquée que l'on date du IX^e au X^e siècle," appears to have been misled by overenthusiastic labeling, as the earliest date yet found in the mosque is 465-85 H. In the course of the survey which my expedition recently carried on in the Djum'a several additional stalactite cupolas came to light.

Kishmar, tomb tower (6[02], 6[80]), cf. E. Diez and M. van Berchem, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* (Berlin, 1918), pp. 46, 47, 109 ff., Pl. 9 (3).

Naʿanz, tomb of Shaikh 'Abd al-Šamad (707 H.), cf. A. Godard, "Naʿanz," *Athār-e Īrān*, I (1936), Fasc. 1, 90-92, Figs. 57, 60, 64.

Nāin, M.-i Dī.; Isfahan, Mad. Imāmī, etc.

STALACTITE-STALAGMITE CUPOLAS IN IRAQ

Cf. Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, as indicated:

Samarra (near), Imam Dūr (ca. 1200 A.D.), I, 231-34; Pl. 31; (dating later changed to ca. 478 H., see Herzfeld, *Erster vorläufiger Bericht* ... [Berlin, 1912], pp. 45-48, Pl. 14).

Ḥadītha, Ziyārat-gāh Naḍīm al-Dīn (not later than ca. 1200 A.D.), II, Fig. 304.

Baghdad, Sitta Zubaida (so-called), (beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.), II, 173-79, Fig. 204, Pls. 50, 133. al-Naḍīmī, tomb ruin (ca. 1200 A.D.), I, 238-39, Fig. 123; Pl. 35.

al-'Āziba, tomb ruin (ca. 1200 A.D.), I, 246, Pl. 36. Also his list, II, 178, footnote 3, for others in Iraq and Iran, to which may be added in Syria, Damascus, Madrasa Nūriya, tomb of Nūr al-Dīn (after 1172 A.D.).

STALACTITE CUPOLAS IN IRAQ

Cf. Herzfeld, in Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, as indicated:

Mosul, Mashhad Imam Yahyā ibn al-Kāsim (637 H.), II, 249-63, Fig. 250, Pl. 100.

Mosul, Mashhad Imam 'Awn al-Dīn (646 H.), II,

263-70, Fig. 261, Pl. 99.

Sindjār, Sittā Zainab (631-57 H.), II, 308-11, Fig. 286.

Sindjār, Kanbar Ali (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, at earliest), II, 311, Fig. 290, Pl. 87.

STALACTITE CUPOLAS, MAGHRIB

Tlemcen, Great Mosque, cupola before the mihrab. G. Marçais, in the *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris, 1926), I, 313, 319, Figs. 174, 175; and A. Fikry, *La Grande Mosquée de Kairouan* (Paris, 1934), p. 106; both claim it as the earliest stalactite cupola in the West, both would date it by the famous early Neskhī inscription of 530 H.

Tinmāl, mosque (1153 A.D.), according to Marçais, *op. cit.*, p. 378; for illustration, see his Figs. 209, 210.

Marrakech, Mosque of the Kutubiya (ca. same as Tinmāl), according to Marçais, *ibid.*, p. 378; for illustration, see his Fig. 212.

Taza, Great Mosque, cupola before the mihrab (693 H. ?), cf. Marçais, *ibid.*, II (1927), 478-81, Fig. 254.

It may be remarked that certain Maghreb cupolas, such as that at Tlemcen, appear to be in a different tradition from those noted in Iraq and Iran.

⁴⁶ In structure, this crowning calotte, instead of resting on the 45-degree squinch arches and walls, as in the typical domed cube, has now been poised on arches, recalling Hagpat, porch-mausoleum of the Church of the Holy Cross, concerning which F. Benoit has remarked: "... une énigmatique ressemblance de son principe avec celui dont l'application constitue le caractère fondamental de la batisse 'gothique.'" *L'Architecture, l'orient médiéval et moderne* (Paris, 1912), p. 90. The degree of resemblance will not be great if the *croisée d'ogives*, as opposed to the *voûte nervée*, is accepted as the criterion for Gothic.

For discussion of intersecting ribs in Armenia, see G. Baltrušaitis, *Études sur l'art médiéval en Arménie et en Géorgie* (Paris, 1929), chapter "Entrelacs en Transcaucasie"; and his *Le Problème de l'ogive et l'Arménie* (Paris, 1936). In the latter (p. 76) he remarks: "Parmi les divers monuments qui travaillent au moyen-âge sur la couverture nervée, c'est lui [Armenia] qui réalise le premier, et peut-être le seul d'une manière systématique, une structure d'arcs entre-croisés rationnellement combinée et d'une logique constructive sans équivoque et sans jeu d'illusion" [italics mine]. He dates the Hagpat porch ca. 1180 A.D., *ibid.*, p. 34, and indicates that the ribbed vault was known in Armenia before the conquest of Ānī by Alp-Arslan in 456 H. (1064 A.D.).

stalactites are the characteristic, trilobed squinch form of the Isfahan district,⁴⁷ a form structurally inexplicable until I found its functional, mud-brick prototype.⁴⁸ But this complex stalactite cupola of Sîn is not functional, nor was its accomplishment possible until the stalactite units had degenerated to revetment. The Isfahan squinch stalactites had reached a revetment stage as early as the great dome of the *Djum'a* (465–85 H.).⁴⁹ I conclude that these Sîn stalactites are the Isfahan squinch expanded, not in terms of function, but of form. The brick stalactite cupola, its genesis heretofore enigmatic because of its nonstructural, decorative nature, devolved, in the Isfahan area at least, from the stalactite squinch.⁵⁰

Can a relationship, other than homomorphic, be established between the ribbed armature of Sîn and the medieval cupolas of intersecting ribs in Armenia, Palestine, the Maghreb, Spain, and southern France, above all with the famous examples of the Great Mosque of Cordova? ⁵¹

⁴⁷ See footnote 21.

⁴⁸ To be published in a future article, "The Isfahan Trilobed Squinch."

⁴⁹ By 498–511 H. (Gulpaigān), they had lost even the forms of their mud-brick prototype; the devolution from structure to decoration was complete. At Sîn the Iranian architect drew the decoration beyond the squinch and spread it over the cupola. From this time on he hung stalactites indiscriminately under arches, domes, or vaults, in increasingly complex patterns, in ever more daring negations of gravity. In his amusing repertoire of architectural *trompe-l'œil* the illusion of the muqarnas became his favorite.

⁵⁰ Cf. Herzfeld, in Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, 178.

⁵¹ For illustration of Cordova, see Terrasse, *L'Art hispano-mauresque*, Pls. 22, 25, 26, and Fig. 15; also Pl. 34 for El Cristo de la Luz (Bāb Mardūm). Cf. the Armenian Church of St. James, Jerusalem, its cupola of six interesting ribs with central calotte superposed. Legend would have this cupola the work of Saladin. The learned Fathers Vincent and Abel regard it as "l'œuvre d'un constructeur spécialisé dans les traditions et les procédés de l'architecture arménienne au XIII^e siècle"; cf. H. Vincent et F.-M. Abel, *Jerusalem* (Paris, 1922), II, fasc. 3, 555 and Figs. 203–5, Pls. LIV, LVII. On the highly controversial subject of Islamic architecture and Gothic origins, see:

É. Mâle, "La Mosquée de Cordoue et les églises de l'Auvergne et du Velay," *Rev. de l'art ancien et moderne*, II (1911), 81 ff.

——, "Les Influences arabes dans l'art roman," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XVIII (1923), 311–43.

M. Gómez-Moreno, "L'Entrecroisement des arcades dans l'architecture arabe," *Actes du congrès d'histoire de l'art* [Paris, 1921], I (1923), 318–30.

E. Lambert, "L'Architecture musulmane du X^e siècle à Cordoue et à Tolède," *Gazette des beaux arts*, V^e per., XII (1925), 141–61.

——, "Les Cupoles hispano-mauresques de l'hôpital Saint-Blaise et de Sainte-Croix d'Oloron," *L'Architecture*, XXXIX (1926), Pt. 19, 323–24.

——, "Les Voutes nervées hispano-musulmanes du XI^e siècle et leur influence possible sur l'art chrétien," *Hespéris*, II (1928), 147–75.

V. Sabouret, "Les Voutes d'arêtes nervurées," *Le Genie civil*, XCII (1928), Pt. 9, 205–9.

G. Baltrušaitis, *Études sur l'art médiéval en Arménie et en Géorgie* (Paris, 1929), Chapter, "Entrelacs en Transcaucasie."

M. S. Briggs, "Gothic Architecture and Persian Origins," *Burlington Mag.*, LXII (1933), 183–89.

E. Lambert, "Les Premières voutes nervées françaises et les origines de la croisée d'ogives," *Revue archéol.*, 6^e ser., No. 2 (1933), 235–44.

V. Sabouret, "L'Évolution de la voute romane du milieu du XI^e siècle au début du XII^e," *Le Genie civil*, CIV (1934), Pt. 11, 240–43.

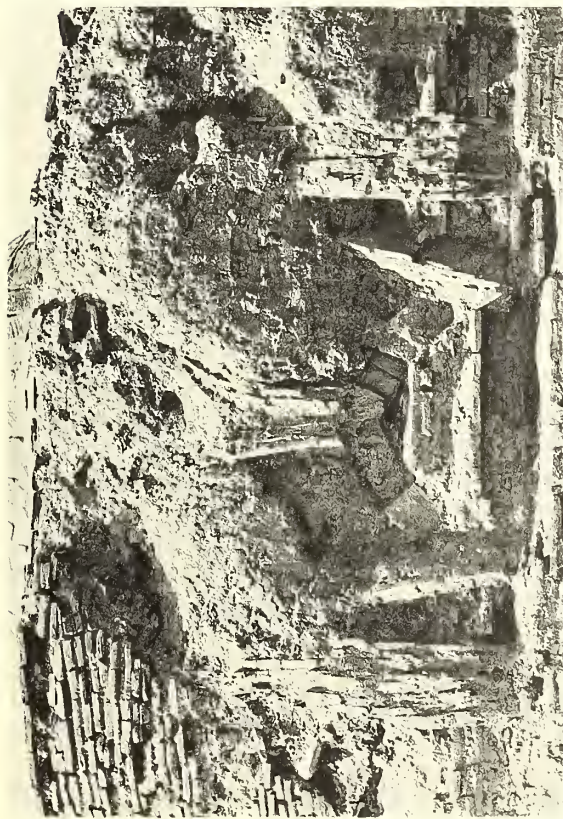
M. Aubert, "Les Plus anciennes croisées d'ogives, leur rôle dans la construction," *Bull. monumental*, XCIII (1934), Pts. 1–2, 5–337.

Pol Abraham, *Viollet-le-Duc et le rationalisme médiéval* (Paris, 1934).

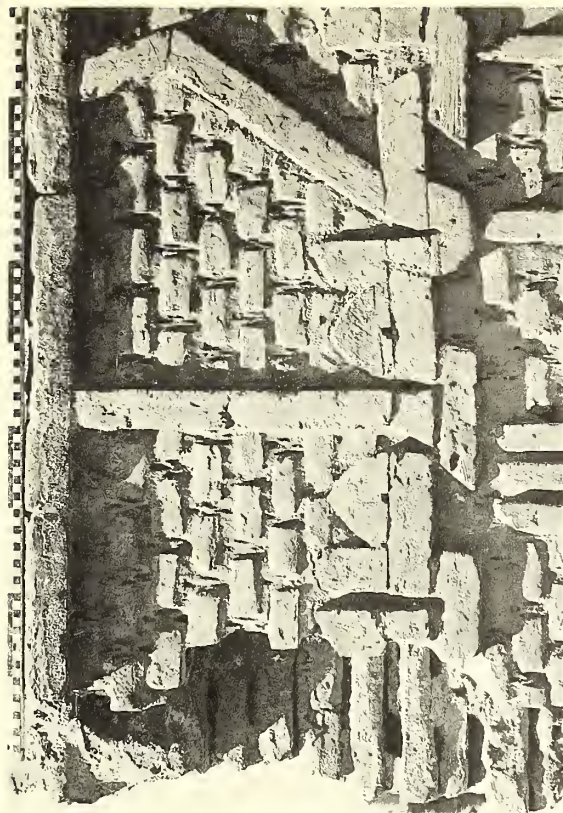
H. Focillon, "Le Problème de l'ogive," *Office des instituts d'archéol. et d'histoire de l'art*, I (1935), Pt. 3, 34–53.

P. Abraham, "Le Problème de l'ogive," *Office des instituts d'archéol. et d'histoire de l'art*, II (1935), Pt. 5, 70–91.

L. Torres Balbás, "La Progenie hispanomusulmana de las primeras bóvedas nervadas franceses y los orígenes de las de ogivas," *Al-Andalus*, III (1935), Pt. 2, 398–410.



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L129.27
FIG. 15—SĪN, MASDJID, SANCTUARY CUPOLA, EXTERIOR, SOUTHEAST SIDE



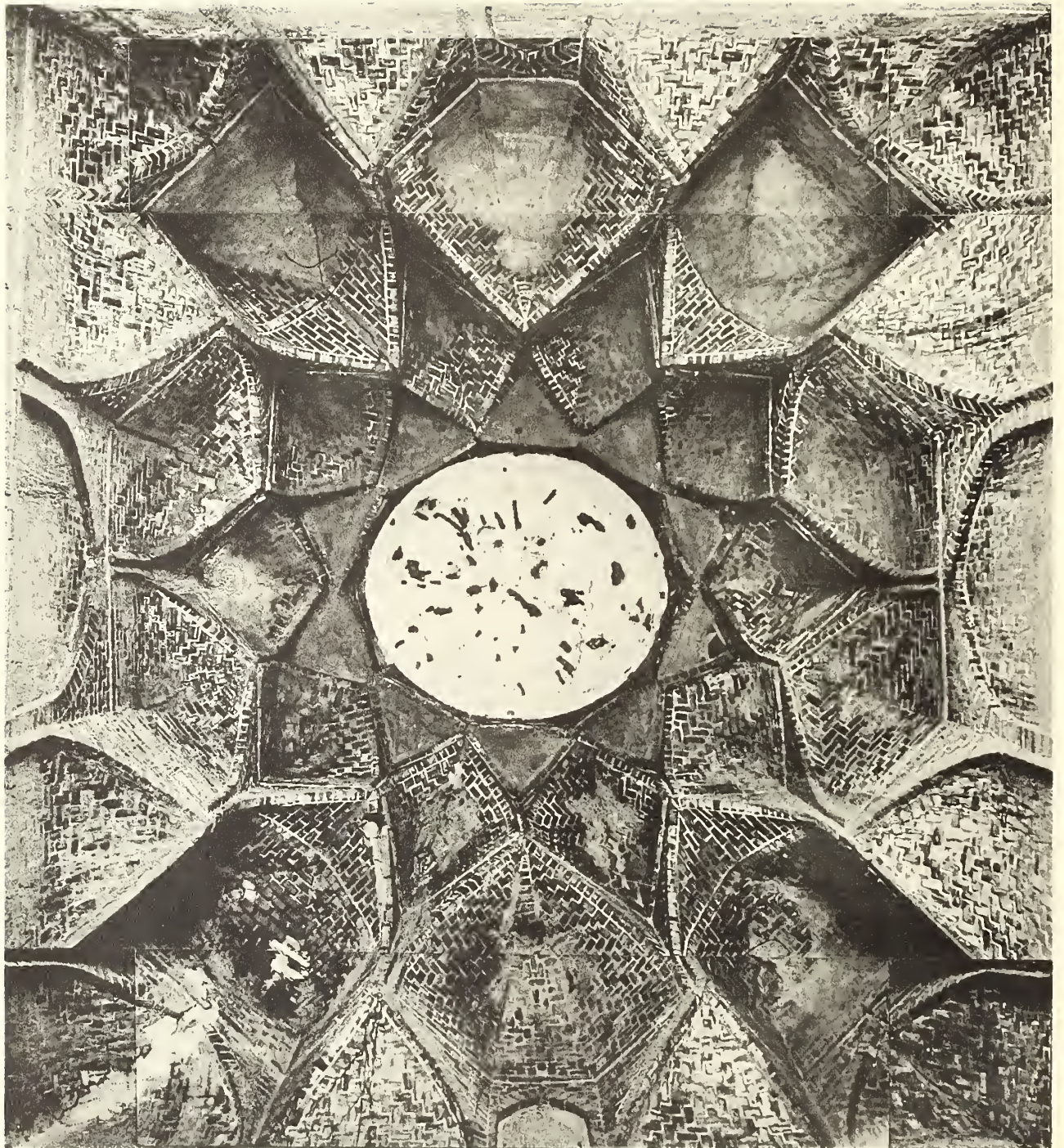
PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L128.40
FIG. 16—SĪN, MANĀR, PLINTH, INSCRIPTION IN BRICK-MOSAIC, DETAIL



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L103.19d
FIG. 17—SĪN, MASDJID, ARCH TO SANCTUARY, DETAIL OF INTRADOS



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L103.16d
FIG. 18—SĪN, MASDJID, SANCTUARY, INTERIOR WALL, BRICKWORK



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. L104.25,-.27,-.29,-.30

FIG. 19—SĪN, MASDJID, SANCTUARY, STALACTITE CUPOLA FROM BELOW (PHOTO-MOSAIC)

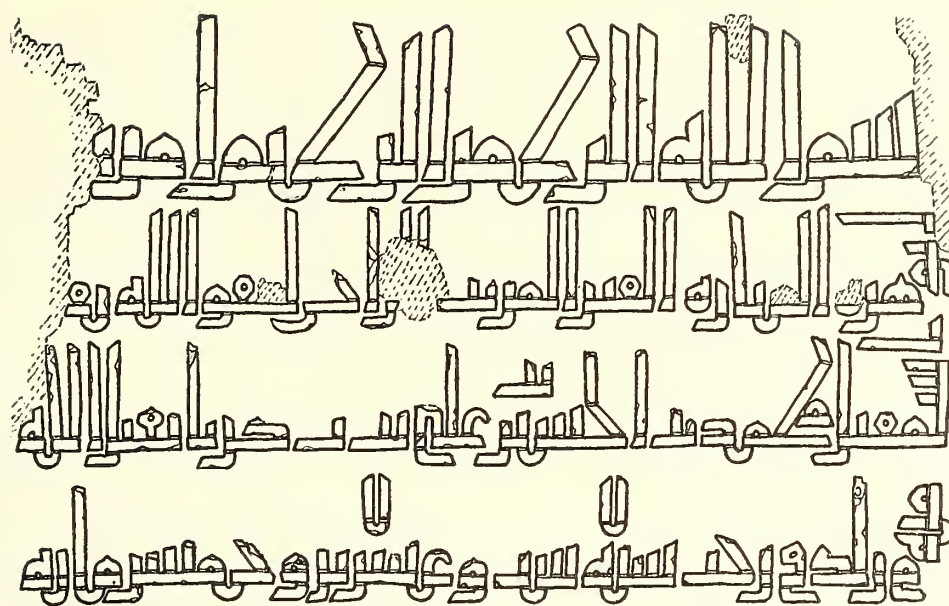


FIG. 20—SĪN, MANĀR, INSCRIPTION ON PLINTH

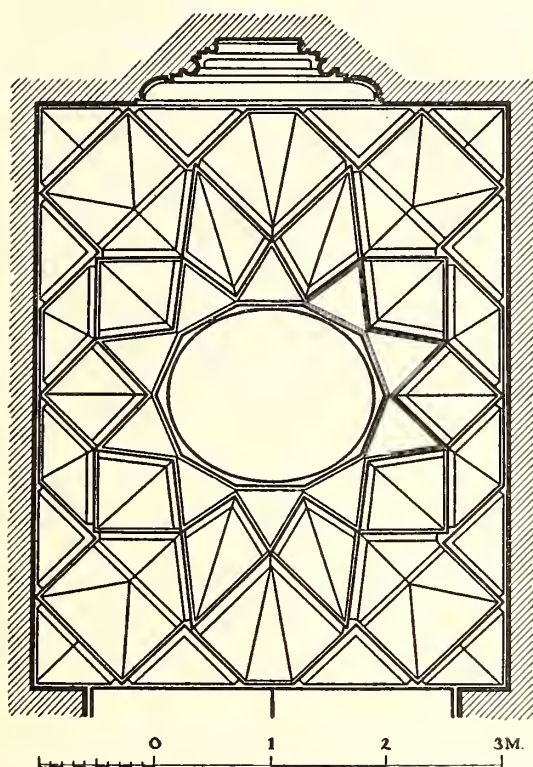


FIG. 21—SĪN, MASJID, SANCTUARY
STALACTITE CUPOLA, REFLECTED PLAN

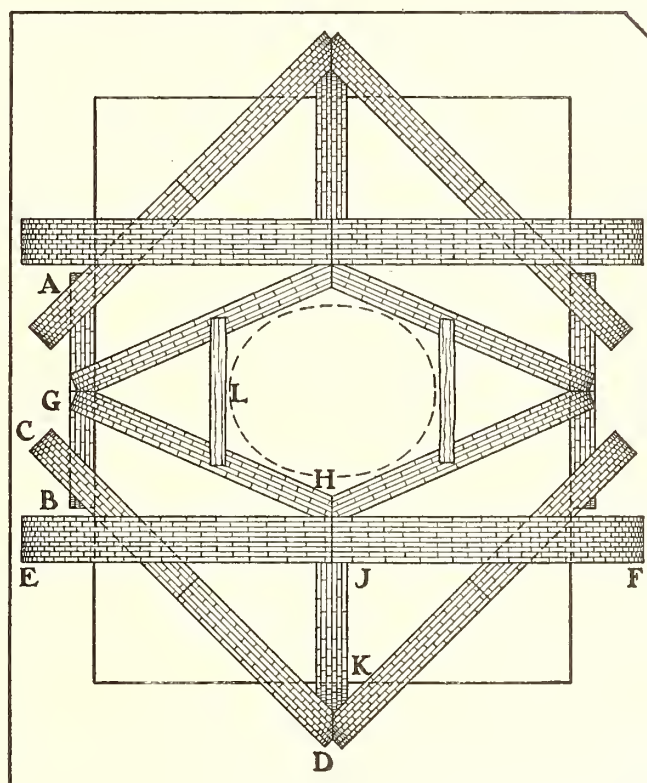


FIG. 22—SĪN, MASJID, SANCTUARY, STALACTITE
CUPOLA, ARMATURE OF INTERSECTING RIBS, PLAN

The Cordova cupolas are Islamic both in concept and in execution,⁵² a spirit with which Sīn thoroughly agrees. This, in my opinion, is their significant relationship to Sīn.⁵³ The generally accepted dating places the earliest but already mature Cordova group a century and a half earlier than Sīn, while, only a century before, the Isfahan squinch stalactites (to risk a generalization from the one dated example yet known, Davāzdah Imām, Yezd, 429 H.) do not appear to have reached the stage for suspension under a grid.⁵⁴ If future research produces evidence that Sīn is near the beginning of the Iranian series of stalactite cupolas, then we may be forced to conclude that the Cordova group developed independently, but in the same Islamic spirit from another background of structural considerations.⁵⁵

E. Lambert, "Les Cupoles des grandes mosquées de Tunisie et d'Espagne aux IX^e et X^e siècles," *Hespéris*, XXII (1936), Pt. 2, 127-32.

J. Baltrušaitis, *Le Problème de l'ogive et l'Arménie* (Paris, 1936).

E. Lambert, "Les Origines de la croisée d'ogives," *Office des instituts d'archéol. et d'histoire de l'art*, III (Nov., 1936-Mar., 1937), 131-46.

⁵² "Ainsi malgré la rectitude de ses nervures appareillées, cette coupole [Cordova] est d'une construction lourde et décevante. Les architectes omeiyades, lorsqu'ils ont construit leurs nervures entrecroisées, n'ont pas eu l'idée de reporter les poussées en un certain nombre des points du tambour. Ils ont simplement établi une charpente de pierre qui est, aux voutes de blocage ou de briques qu'elle supporte, ce que le doubleau est à la voute en berceau. Cette charpente joue un rôle d'armature plus encore que de support.... Partout se trahit dans ces voutes, où l'on serait tenté de voir une géniale invention architecturale, une étrange méconnaissance des problèmes architectoniques.... Les architectes omeiyades ont effleuré alors la solution presque parfaite de la voute; mais ils n'en ont rien su: leur esprit se portait vers de

tout autres problèmes. L'art hispano-mauresque, au contraire de l'art chrétien, s'éloignait de toutes les fécondes difficultés que posait le problème de la voute. La merveilleuse fantaisie des coupoles cordouanes était à la fois une trouvaille et un renoncement, un succès et un danger." Terrasse, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

"Le rapport des cupoles islamiques et des voutes à nervures légères avec la croisée d'ogive d'Occident apparaît bien incertain et même superficiel. Il n'y a là qu'une très vague analogie." Baltrušaitis, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁵³ This question was discussed in my illustrated paper, "A Seldjūk Stalactite Cupola at Sīn," at the American Oriental Society's meeting at Baltimore on April 11, 1939.

⁵⁴ Cf. the nature of the stalactites on tomb towers at: 400 ? H. Rasgat; 413 H. Ladjim; 407-11 H. Rādkān east; 448 H. Abarḳūh (stone rubble); also those of M.-i Dj. at Demāwend, illustrated by M. B. Smith, "Material for a Corpus . . . , I, Masdjid-i Djum'a, Demāwend," Figs. 9, 10, 13-16.

⁵⁵ It is my pleasant duty to record here my gratitude to George C. Miles for his kindness in preparing the epigraphical notice for this monograph.

1. MANĀR, at top of plinth. This Kufic inscription (*Figs. 16 and 20*) has been published by M. B. Smith, "The Manārs of Iṣfahān,"¹ with text and translation by Mme Yedda A. Godard.² In order that the present epigraphical notice may be complete, I repeat the text here:

١ [ب]سم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر ب.....
 ٢ هذه المنارة العبد المذنب الراجي ليعفو الله عنه.....
 : *At right* ابو اس
 ٣ معيل محمد بن الحسين بن علي بن زكريا تقبل الله
 : *At right* منه
 ٤ وذلك في رجب سنة ست وعشرين وخمس مائة

1. In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful. Ordered the building
2. of this minaret the servant, the sinner, he who begs the pardon of Allah the Exalted,
At right: Abu Is-
3. mail Muhammad b. al-Husain b. Ali b. Zakariyā, may Allah accept (it)
At right: from him;
4. And that in Radjab of the year 526. (May-June, 1132 A.D.)³

The epigraphy of this inscription deserves brief comment. The amusing arrangement of the words *ابو اسمعيل* and *منه* vertically at the right side, and the utter simplicity of the letters betray, it seems to me, a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the artisan for the Kufic alphabet, and an ingenuous disregard of the ornamental potentialities of the inscription. The letters are entirely without artifice. With the exception of the *h*'s of *al-rahman*, *al-rahim*, and *Muhammad*, the *bn* between *al-Husain* and *Ali*, and the two U-like ornaments above two words in the last line, no effort has been made to fill the spaces between the vertical *alifs* and *lāms*. The identical form of *ر*, *و*, and *ن* is quite extraordinary. Even here there are inconsistencies, e.g., the *ن* of *بن* does not descend below the line and is identical with *ب*, etc., while in the word *Muhammad* we have a solitary specimen of a genuine Kufic *dāl*. The final *ي* of *الراجي*, but not of other words, is really Neskhi. Another oddity is the retrograde *و* in the last line, and a striking example of carelessness is the superfluous tooth in the *س* of *خمس*.

Analogous contemporaneous material is to be found in the fragmentary [5]28 inscription

¹ *Athār-é Irān*, I (1936), Fasc. 2, 327, Fig. 216. Cf. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Le Caire, 1931—), VIII, No. 3049 and Add., 295.

² "Notes épigraphiques sur les minarets d'Iṣfahān,"

Athār-é Irān, I (1936), Fasc. 2, 363-64.

³ Mme Godard (*ibid.*, p. 364) has inadvertently given 1229, the Christian equivalent of the year 626 H.

of the sanctuary at Barsiān⁴ and the equally fragmentary mosque inscription at Zawāra, plausibly reconstructed by M. Godard to read 530.⁵

It will be observed that the builder, Abu Ismail Muhammad, was a great-grandson of a certain Zakariyā, and that Abu Ghālib Yaḥyā, the builder of the mosque (see inscription 3 below), was a grandson of presumably the same Zakariyā. Thus in all probability the two principal benefactors of Sīn at the time were first cousins once removed. I cannot identify Abu Ismail. I can only suggest Abu Ismail, a *cadi* of Isfahan, who was sent by Sultan Muhammad to negotiate with Ṣadaḳa ibn Mazyad in the year 501,⁶ but nothing is known of the names of this man's father or grandparents. But while Abu Ismail cannot be identified with any certainty, I believe his genealogy can be pushed back several generations and that we can associate him with a distinguished family of Sīn. A well-known traditionalist, a native and *cadi* of Sīn, Abu Mansur Muhammad b. Zakariyā b. al-Hasan b. Zakariyā b. Thābit b. 'Āmir b. Ḥakīm b. Ḥukwayh(?) b. Ḥafīr(?), Mawlā al-Anṣār, was born in 393 and died in 432 H.⁷ Was he not perhaps a son of that same Zakariyā whose name appears in the inscriptions, a granduncle, therefore, of Abu Ismail, the builder of the minaret? The dates are not impossible, and if we have to compress the dates on one side of the genealogy and stretch them on the other, we must remember that generations are elastic in Muslim lands, where sons were born early and late in a father's lifetime.

2. MANĀR, at top. This glazed-brick faïence Kufic inscription (*Fig. 7*) has also been illustrated in "The Manārs of Iṣfahān," and the text identified by Mme Godard.⁸ The passage, in unadorned but carefully executed Kufic, is from the Koran (XLI, 33, part):

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَمَنْ أَحْسَنُ قَوْلًا مِّمَّنْ دَعَا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا

Basmala. And who speaketh fairer than he who biddeth to God and doth the thing that is right . . . ?

3. MASDĪD, sanctuary, carved gač panel (*Figs. 4 and 8*). The inscription, in early flowing Neskhī, reads:

١ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
٢ اَمْرٌ بِنَاءِ هَذِهِ الْقُبَّةِ وَاتِمَامُهُ [sic]
٣ الْعَبْدُ الْمَذْنُوبُ الرَّاجِي

⁴ M. B. Smith, "Material for a Corpus of Early Iranian Islamic Architecture, II. Manār and Masdjīd, Barsiān (Iṣfahān)," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), 37, sketch B.

⁵ A. Godard, "Ardistān et Zawārè," *Athār-e Īrān*, I (1936), Fasc. 2, 302, and *Figs. 200-202*, where ثلاثين should be read in place of ثلثين. Cf. *Répertoire . . .*, VIII, Add., 295-96.

⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1867-74), X, 311.

⁷ 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, facsimile ed. by D. S. Margoliouth, "Gibb Memorial Series" (London, 1912), XX, 323 verso; cf. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-70), III, 222, and C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique . . . de la Perse* (Paris, 1861), p. 338. Al-Sam'ānī, incidentally, once spent a day in Sīn.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, *Fig. 217*, and p. 363. Only the Basmala appears in the photograph.

٤ لعفو الله تعالى ابو غالب
 ٥ يحيى بن ابو [sic] سعد بن زكريا
 ٦ تقبل الله عز وجل منه
 ٧ وغفر له [sic] ولوالديه و
 ٨ لمن دعا له بالمغفرة وبني الله
 ٩ له بيتا في الجنة وذلك في
 ١٠ شهور سنة تسع وعشرين وخمسمائة

1. In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Ordered the building of this *kubba* and its completion
3. the servant, the sinner, he who begs
4. the pardon of Allah the Exalted, Abu Ghālīb
5. Yaḥyā b. Abu Sa'd b. Zakarīyā,
6. may Allah—be he glorified and magnified—accept (it) from him
7. and forgive him and his parents and
8. whoever prays forgiveness for him, and may Allah build
9. for him a house in Paradise; and that in
10. the months of the year 529 (1134–35 A.D.).

In line 2, the masculine “its” can only be correct if the reference is to “building”; one would rather expect the antecedent to be the feminine “al-*kubba*.” In line 5, note the fairly common grammatical error, *Abū* for *Abī*. The strange له for له in line 7 is more probably the fault of the carver than that of the writer of the text. It is difficult to conceive what the artisan had in mind: لنه or ليه or الله? There are no points here or elsewhere in the inscription. Worthy of notice epigraphically are the following: the tendency to join *alif* with the letter following (in almost every possible instance), thus enhancing the extremely cursive character of the script; the crossbar *kāf* in the word Zakarīyā; and the simplified initial form of *hā* in *hādhihi* (line 2).

The present document takes its place among the very earliest monumental historical inscriptions in the Neskhi character in Iran. The fifth-century H. inscriptions on the walls of the palace of Darius at Persepolis are more in the nature of sgraffiti than actual monumental inscriptions. The Neskhi eulogy on the Manār Čihil Dukhtarān in Isfahan,⁹ dated 501 H., is not of historical content. To my knowledge the earliest monumental historical Neskhi is the fragment on the manār of the Masdjid-i Djum'a at Sāwa (*Fig. 14*), dated by the Kufic band 504 H.¹⁰ Next in order are the 507–9 H. inscriptions at Kazvin in a very fine and masterful style

⁹ M. B. Smith, “The Manārs of Isfahān,” *Fig. 211*.

¹⁰ Cf. *Répertoire* . . . , VIII, No. 2943. My photo-

graphs show the Neskhi fragment to read:

بسعى متولى المسجد

of Neskhi.¹¹ The 514 H. inscription from Amul, first published by Dorn,¹² is a gravestone, and the character is a bastard Kufic, not genuine Neskhi. Just preceding the present inscription is the mihrab at Buzūn (the best comparative material), dated 528 H.,¹³ where the character is similar, only perhaps even more cursive, and where one observes the same tendency to join letters. Here also is an initial *hā* rather like the one remarked on above. On the cavetto of the frame of the mihrab at Barsiān¹⁴ there are single words in Neskhi, the writing of which can be dated 528 H. Finally, there are two gravestones on which both Kufic and Neskhi are used, dated 529 and 533 H.¹⁵ The one dated 529 employs Neskhi for the historical material and for one line of the religious text; the latter has the date and formula of decease in Kufic, although there is considerable religious material in Neskhi.

Abu Ghālib Yaḥyā, the builder of the sanctuary, remains unidentified except for his probable relationship to Abu Ismail Muhammad, the builder of the manār.

4. MASDĪD, sanctuary, mihrab frame, inscription in flowing Neskhi (Figs. 3 and 11). The text is the Ayat al-Kursī (Koran, II, 256), preceded by the *Basmala*. The inscription is damaged and plastered over at three points: the commencement of the *Basmala*, at the bottom on the right, from تَأْخُذُ to نَوْمٌ, toward the top at the right, and the last word, الْعَظِيمُ, at the bottom on the left. Otherwise the inscription is in beautiful condition and is a fine example of early Neskhi. A graceful arabesque flows through the open background. The characters have no points.

5. MASDĪD, iwān soffit, painted inscription. The hand copy with which I have been furnished reads (Persian):

۱ تاریخ تعمیر مسجد سین بسرکاری
۲ حضرات خیر اندیش اهل قریه

¹¹ A part of the 509 H. inscription has been reproduced by A. U. Pope, "Notes on the Stucco Ornament in the Sanctuary of the Masjid-i-Jami', Qazvin," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Persian Art and Archaeol.*, IV (1936), Pt. 4, 210, Fig. 1. Cf. *Répertoire* . . . , VIII, Nos. 2960, 2965, and 2967.

¹² B. Dorn, *Bericht über eine wissenschaftliche Reise* . . . (St. Petersburg, 1861), p. 445, and his *Atlas* (St. Petersburg, 1895), second section, Pl. I. Cf. *Répertoire* . . . , VIII, No. 2983.

¹³ M. B. Smith and E. Herzfeld, "Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzūn," *Archaeol. Mitteil. aus Iran*, VII (1935), Hft. 2-3, Pls. I and II. Herzfeld appended to his epigraphical notice of this monument a valuable survey of the data bearing on the introduction of Neskhi and the displacement of Kufic in Iran. Two other early Neskhi inscriptions are mentioned here (p. 78), one at Iṣṭākḥr and one

at Kerman, dated respectively 510 and 515 H., but these have not, to my knowledge, been published. Another Neskhi inscription, on a wellhead at Gulpaigan, has been published in *Répertoire* . . . , VIII, No. 3043. I do not know the basis for the dating of it there (ca. 525 H.), but it is in all probability an early Neskhi inscription. The characters are without points; a rather cumbersome arabesque fills the background. The text is:

امر باستعمال هذا محمد بن ابی علی رحمه الله

See Figure 13.

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*, Figs. 22, 28, and 32.

¹⁵ In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Cf. M. Aga-Oglu, "An Islamic Tombstone and Mihrāb of the Twelfth Century," *Bull. Museum of Fine Arts*, XXXI (1933), No. 185, 42-43.

٣ بتاريخ يوم چهارشنبه في
٤ يكتم شهر جمادى الاول سنة

١٢٩٩

Date of the repair of the mosque of Sīn with the support of esteemed benefactors among the inhabitants of the village, on Wednesday, the first of the month of Djumādā I, year 1269 (actually Thursday, February 10, 1853).

6 and 7. CARAVANSERAI, entrance *iwān*, gač panels at right and left (*Fig. 6*). The two square panels are to be taken together. In large, partially superimposed Neskhi, they read:

Right: عمل حاجای محمد

Left: البنا ساوجی سنة ٧٣١

Work of Ḥadjidjī Muhammad, the mason (or architect), Sāwadjī (of Sāwa), year 731 (1330–31 A.D.).

Composition, calligraphy, and ornament are the work of a master craftsman of the Īl-Khānid period.

8. CARAVANSERAI, interior, vault behind entrance, polychrome carved gač (*Fig. 12*). This fine, highly ornamented inscription band in large, somewhat involved Neskhi is in such a deplorable state of ruin that I have not been able to make out a continuous text. The date, fortunately, is clearly preserved. I read:

في غرة ذي القعدة سنة ثلثين وسبعمائة م...سى الكهر (?)

At the beginning of Dhū'l-Ḳa'da of the year 730 (Middle of August, 1330 A.D.).

The two words following the date, being obscure in the photograph, escape me. The only other legible portions are:

....رحل معا في لا....ال(ornament)رضينا قسمة الحما....فد...والاعدا(ornament)مال فان بقا البا....

This is followed by an ornament and the date, as given above.

Professor P. K. Hitti, of Princeton University, has suggested that we have here at least a part of the much-quoted Arabic couplets beginning:

رضينا قسمة الجبار فينا لنا علم ولجهال مال

We are content with the lot the All-Compelling has given us;

To us is knowledge, to the ignorant wealth.

The first line is almost certainly present in the inscription. The rest may possibly be a paraphrase or an adaptation. راحل, "traveler," suggests a text suitable to the purposes of the building.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MOSAIC FAÏENCE IN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE IN IRAN

DONALD N. WILBER

IT FREQUENTLY HAPPENS THAT GENERAL OR EVEN ABSTRACT WORDS AND PHRASES ACQUIRE, through sheer repetition, the power to create concrete but not completely accurate visual images. Thus, to people who are familiar with the countries of the Near East the phrases "Muslim architecture in Persia" or "Islamic architecture in Iran" are apt to evoke an image of the city of Isfahan in the time of Shah Abbas—Isfahan with its tremendous maidan around which still sparkle and shine the multicolored surfaces of the great imperial mosque and the tomb of Shaikh Luṭf Allāh. It is well known that these structures are clad in unbroken coatings of bright faïence, and those most familiar with the monuments are aware that this mosaic-faïence decoration was far more skillfully used at Herat and at Meshed during the early fifteenth century than at Isfahan in the seventeenth, when the inevitable structural and ornamental decline had already set in. Certainly the covering of imposing monuments by this means of decoration is one of the most characteristic features of Muslim architecture in Iran, but the fact is seldom realized that glazed materials used architectonically first appeared upon the buildings of the country about five centuries after the Arab conquest and that the technique itself passed through all the stages of a logical development before its facile use on those monuments which are world renowned.

How this architectural faïence originated and developed is, then, the subject of the present discussion.¹ The subject seems particularly appropriate at the present time because recent survey work in Iran has revealed new examples of the earliest use of faïence on architecture and a more comprehensive treatment can be offered than was formerly possible.

In tracing the gradual complexity in the use of faïence in architecture a culminating point will be marked by the appearance of "complete mosaic faïence." This final form of faïence may be described as the result obtained when an architectural surface is entirely covered by a pattern arrangement of small pieces of tile which have surface glazes of different colors. In actual practice the various colored pieces are fitted as closely together as careful cutting and a thin strip of mortar in the joints will allow. Today the resulting product is known in Iran as "kashi." Variant forms of this same word have been in use for centuries, and examples of the earliest use of the term will be cited from Arabic texts. These same texts list buildings upon which the glazed decoration was used, and thus serve to augment information derived from standing

¹ In the preparation of this article the author has been greatly assisted by a number of scholars. Mr. A. U. Pope made available the proof of *A Survey of Persian Art* in advance of publication and made suggestions inspired by his first-hand knowledge of the Iranian monuments. Dr. R. Ettinghausen read an early draft of the manuscript and made various suggestions. Dr. N. A. Faris, of Princeton University, made a careful translation of the Arabic

texts. Professor E. R. Caley, of Princeton University, analyzed six samples of mosaic faïence, Mr. Y. Armajani, of Princeton, translated a Persian text, Mr. E. Schroeder, of the Fogg Museum, furnished unpublished material on the Khwādja Atābek at Kerman, and Miss Mary Crane, of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, checked much of the more detailed material.

monuments. Buildings and texts will furnish examples primarily of the use of faïence upon the exterior surfaces of structures, but some of the material will illustrate its use in the decoration of interiors.

The use of highly specialized and technical terms has been avoided. There are, indeed, certain terms which have come into common usage during the course of the intensive studies made of Persian pottery and luster tiles, but their present application as descriptive of glazed material on buildings demands a clarification of the relationship between specially designed architectural faïence and all other kinds of glazed ceramics.

As naturally, logically, and inevitably as color seems to be allied with Iranian buildings it is now recognized that it reached a point of superlative quality at a relatively late date. It was only one in a series of types of architectural decoration—that is, Iran fostered the growth, during the Islamic period, of a number of decorative treatments of strong aesthetic and architectonic value, but it was the use of mosaic faïence alone which survived over a very long period of time. The answer to the question as to why it survived so long may lie in the age-old fascination which bright colors seem to have had for the peoples in this region of the world.

The series and cycles of decoration were these—first came an interest in the inherent ornamental possibilities of the plain square bricks with which the religious and civil edifices were being built; this period starts in Iran proper as early as the tenth century. Brick bonding was found to be the source of countless pattern variations, and at first such decoration was of a thoroughly architectonic type, but, as interest in complexity for its own sake arose, a kind of decadence of construction set in. The patterned coating of the structures had no real unity with their cores, and the bricks were cut up or molded into increasingly smaller and smaller units of more varied shapes, until the fundamental sense of the material was lost. This cycle of decoration in brick and terra cotta was followed by one of applied stucco ornament which began at the end of the eleventh century and lasted through the early fourteenth. Notable compositions in stucco decoration, in which the use of stucco was a reversion to Parthian and Sasanian times, with a continuous history in early Islamic monuments at Samarra, Nishapur, and Nāīn, were executed while the technique of brick-pattern ornamentation was at its height. This overlapping meant that when the decadence of brick patterning suddenly became apparent fully developed stucco decoration was ready at hand as the new popular medium of architectural ornament.

In the same manner early experiments with the use of colored faïence began while the applied stucco decoration was reaching its peak in popularity; they progressed so steadily that by the time the stucco work had lost all three-dimensionality and compositional concentration—had become flat, stringy, and monotonous—fully developed faïence was already in existence. This existence was to extend far beyond the life spans of the earlier forms of decoration.

It is tempting not only to think of mosaic faïence as the decorative successor of brick and stucco but to feel that its final expression owed a direct debt to both of the other mediums. The clay body of the faïence was, of course, developed from experiments in the use of cut and

molded bricks, and even the shapes of the pieces used at this later period resulted from the earlier experiments with the plainer material. On the other hand, direct suggestions of the possibilities of color in architecture may have been given by the use of color in stucco relief ornament. Many stucco friezes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries still retain their light blue backgrounds, and occasional dark blue grounds have been recorded.² Even more elaborate colored stucco was sometimes used: in the dome chamber at Sangbast the plaster lining of the interior walls was given an incised herringbone pattern, and each separate strip of the pattern was painted with vivid blues, yellows, and reds. Of course a great impetus toward the increasingly bold use of color in architecture came from the numerous active pottery-manufacturing centers. Actual pottery kilns probably produced the first architectural faïence.

The first examples of the use of colored faïence in Iranian Islamic architecture appear upon the interiors and exteriors of structures; such is the evidence of the few standing monuments of these years. At first the type of pieces of colored material reflected directly the contemporary decoration in brick, with its trend toward smaller and smaller units molded into special shapes in the wet clay and then fired. The faïence pieces merely underwent an additional step, that of the addition of a surface glaze.

A closer examination of the manner in which brick-unit decoration developed should make clear the reasons why certain shapes of pieces and combinations of units were used in architectural faïence. The process, easily traceable by a series of standing tomb towers and minarets, is demonstrated by numerous examples. In general, the tendency from the Samanid period (tenth century A.D.) through all succeeding work was away from the original use of large plain square bricks laid in simple bonds, which seemed to have a very real affinity with the actual core of the structure, and toward the use of smaller pieces of more varied shapes set in increasingly elaborate patterns. These more elaborate pieces were produced either by cutting up large fired bricks into the desired shapes or by molding and firing special shapes. A number of these small-scale borders of the Seljuk period whose fired shapes affected the design of the earliest faïence pieces are shown in Figure 1*a* (an index to the different materials represented in the drawings is given in Figure 1*b*). With this new multiplicity of sizes and shapes the wall surfaces of the buildings tended to resolve themselves into an all-over geometrical pattern. This geometrical reticulation came to have less and less real relation with the core of the structure and turned into a revetment coating a few centimeters thick set into a heavy layer of mortar which had been applied to the true structural core. This type of decoration was in full popularity during the Seljuk period, and although overshadowed at this time by the development, first of applied stucco ornament, and then of faïence, it continued as a common form of decoration until the middle of the fourteenth century.³

² Some of the decorative stucco recovered at Samarra has a painted dark blue background. In the dome chamber of Sangbast the inscription frieze has a light blue background, and at Kazvin all the friezes in the dome chamber of the Masjd-i Džāmi' have dark blue grounds.

³ The Masjd-i Džāmi' at Varāmīn, erected in 722 H. (1322 A.D.), is one of the latest examples of this technique, which is there executed with consummate skill and combined with the use of mosaic faïence.

Two types of documentary and historical material which serve as an introduction to the description of actual specimens of faïence will be presented in the following paragraphs. One part of this introduction consists of illustrations of the use of faïence, in earlier historical periods, on objects or monuments recovered during the course of excavations in the Near East. The examples used as illustrations, chosen almost at random, do not pretend to offer a history

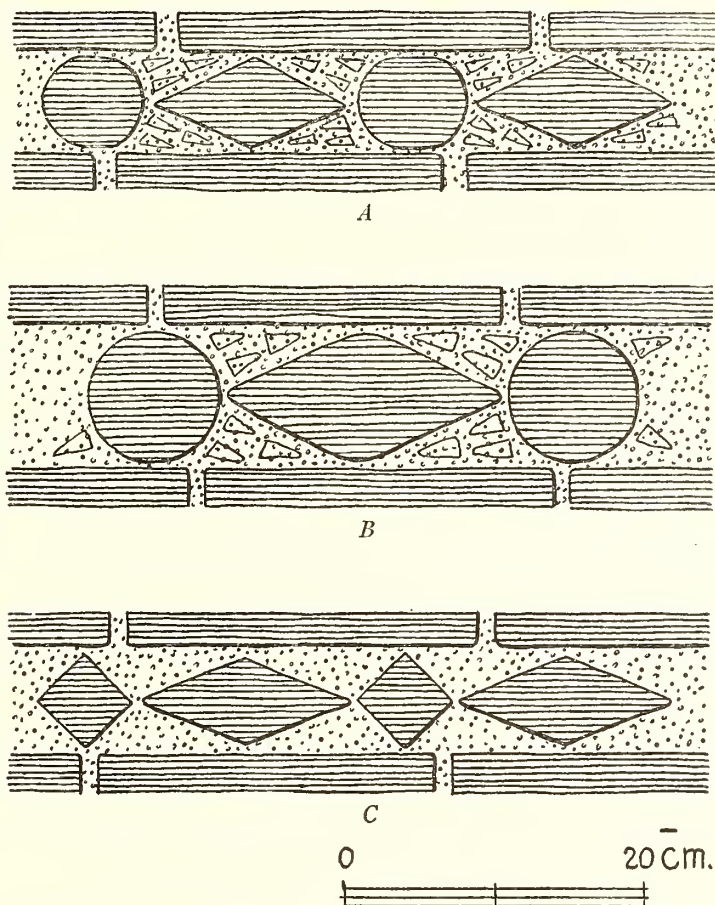


FIG. 1a—ORNAMENTAL BORDERS OF THE SELJUK PERIOD: *A*, MASĠID-I DJĀMI', ARDISTAN 555 H. (1160 A.D.); *B*, MASĠID-I DJĀMI', ISFAHAN, 481 H. (1088 A.D.)
C, MASĠID-I DJĀMI', GULPAIGAN, 498–511 H. (1104–17 A.D.)

of the use of faïence in these regions, but merely demonstrate a single point: that the glazing of surfaces was an integral part of the most ancient heritage of the Near East. The technique in its turn may be considered as a material reflection of the love of color inherent in the inhabitants of this region. This fondness for color was dormant and without concrete expression for fairly long periods, but it frequently flared up to find superlative expression on such monuments as the faïence-coated walls of Babylon and the mosques of Iran.

The second part of the introduction consists of quotations from the Arab and Persian

geographers and historians who describe the use of color in architecture. These descriptions will augment factual evidence by helping to fill gaps between the observed uses of faïence on monuments and by stressing the relationship of architectural glazed materials with the manufacture of ordinary ceramics.

Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Indus Valley all discovered the secret of glassy faïence at a very early period.⁴ In Egypt this early glazing consisted in a faïence layer applied over an actual opaque glassy core and not over a fired clay core such as is typical of the Islamic period.

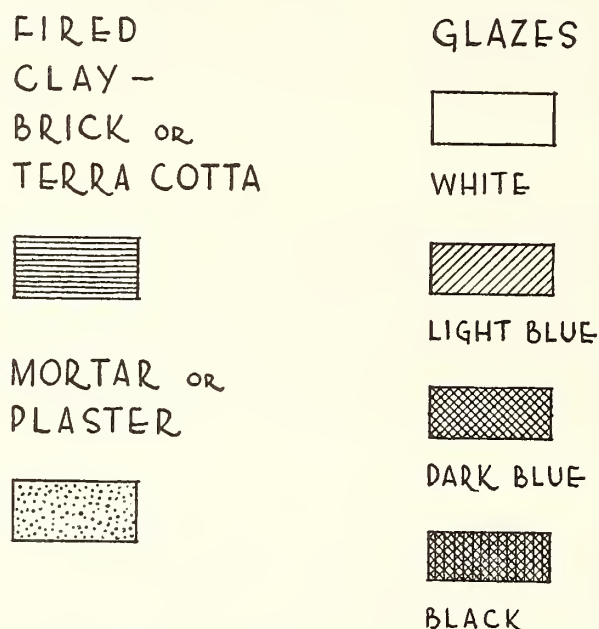


FIG. 1b—INDEX TO THE DIFFERENT MATERIALS REPRESENTED IN THE DRAWINGS

Large tiles covered with greenish blue glaze were produced during the first dynasty in Egypt,⁵ and the full development of the technique is best exemplified by the well-known figures of captives: plaques with inlaid glazes of several colors which were made for the palaces and temples of Ramses II and Ramses III.⁶ In the region of Iraq the early site of *Djamdat Naşr* has yielded evidence of the use of faïence, as have the excavations at Ur, although on a more sparing scale. Material from several periods has been found at Susa—a fragment of a vase cov-

⁴ See A. Lucas, "Glazed Ware in Egypt, India and Mesopotamia," *Journ. Egyptian Archaeol.*, XXII (1936), Pt. II, 141-64.

⁵ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1923), pp. 107-18. Reference given by N. C. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1934), p. 28.

⁶ G. Daressy, "Plaquettes émaillées de Medinet-Habou," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XI (1911), 44-63; H. Nelson and U. Hölscher, "Work in Western Thebes, 1931-33," *Oriental Instit. Communications*, No. 18, p. 95; W. C. Hayes, "Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Rameses II at Kantir," *Metropolitan Mus. Art Papers*, No. 3 (1937).

ered with a dark green glaze which dates from the fourth millennium,⁷ as well as a wig coated with a clear glaze and coming from the foundation deposits of the temple of Shushinak.⁸

Faïence was used in architecture to create pictures, the units being glazed bricks, as early as the twelfth century B.C., at Assur, and it, as well as glazed orthostats and wall knobs, continued to be employed at the same site until the sixth century B.C.⁹ Great friezes in glazed brick decorated the throne room of Nebuchadnezzar II, the Procession Street, and the Ishtar Gate at Babylon,¹⁰ and in the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad glazed bricks were used in a very similar fashion.¹¹ Babylon and Khorsabad furnished the immediate precursors of the famous "Lion" and "Archer" friezes of glazed bricks which were executed in Achaemenid times in the palace at Susa.¹²

Achaemenid Susa seems to have seen the end of the popularity of faïence in architecture which had found such vigorous expression for a number of centuries. The technique of glazing did not die out, however, but was merely transferred to the decoration of small-scale objects. Ceramics and other branches of the so-called industrial arts reflect the large amount of glazing that was done during the Parthian period.¹³ A green glaze was especially favored. In the western part of the Parthian kingdom not only did finds from Dura-Europos on the Euphrates reveal the existence of glazed pottery but part of a glazed revetment tile was also found in the excavations.¹⁴ Glazed objects of the Sasanian period seem to lack any peculiar characteristics; examples from Seleucia¹⁵ which reproduce the types and glazes of their Parthian predecessors are typical of the material from other sites.

After the Arab conquest and in one of the areas in which many of the objects already mentioned were found appears the glazed material discovered in the excavations at Samarra. A considerable amount of glazed pottery was uncovered, as well as a few pieces of glazed and of glazed-and-lustered tiles.¹⁶ These tiles were square in shape, with a white glaze and with luster in dark brown, red, yellow, or orange. It seems significant that no fragments of the star tiles which were to be such a feature of the later work were found, nor were there any of the tiles coated with a blue glaze, although this color, common on the pottery from this site, was to be most characteristic of the later architectural faïence. Square tiles with emerald green and ocher-colored monochrome glazes were, however, found in the palace of Samarra.

⁷ G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* (Paris, 1931), II, 660; E. Pottier, *Mém. délégation en Perse*, XIII (1912), 99. These references are from M. Bahrani, *Recherches sur les carreaux de revêtement lustré dans la céramique persane du XIII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1937), p. 11.

⁸ E. Pottier and M. Pézard, *Catalogue des antiquités de la Susiane* (Paris, 1926), No. 330. Reference from Bahrani, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁹ W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur* (London, 1925).

¹⁰ R. Koldewey, *Das Ishtar Tor in Babylon* (Leipzig, 1918).

¹¹ V. Place, *Nineve et l'Assyrie* (Paris, 1867-70), Pls. 24, 26-31.

¹² M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse* (Paris, 1890), Pls. III, V-VII.

¹³ Debevoise, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-4, 15-34.

¹⁴ F. Massoul, "La Céramique de Doura," in Franz Cumont's *Fouilles de Doura-Europos, 1922-1923* (Paris, 1926), pp. 467 and 472.

¹⁵ Debevoise, *op. cit.*, p. 86, No. 224.

¹⁶ F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 50-54; R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to Islamic Pottery of the Near East* (London, 1932), p. 5, Figs. 8 and 9.

Also of the ninth century A.D. are a large number of glazed tiles with a metallic luster; they were used to decorate a mihrab set up in the mosque of Sidī 'Oḡba at Kairouan during the reign of Ziyādat Allāh, 221 H. (836 A.D.).¹⁷ These tiles, a large number of which are still in the mosque, are square plaques 1 centimeter thick and are covered with a white glaze that varies in color from a delicate ivory to pale green. The resemblance of the glaze and luster to the ceramics found at Samarra, together with a manuscript account of the construction work in the mosque at this same period, has led to the belief that they were actually made in Baghdad and exported to Kairouan.¹⁸

Samarra and Kairouan bear witness to the presence of glazed architectural ceramics early in the Islamic period.¹⁹ This means that it is possible to cite passages from Arab and Persian writers who describe color in architecture, in these and following centuries, with complete confidence that the materials did exist even though there are no remains. The citations will indicate that the products of pottery workshops were used as applied architectural decoration and that the glazed materials so used from the ninth through the eleventh centuries A.D. were not especially designed by the architects and builders of the monuments to be an integral part of the

¹⁷ G. Marçais, *Les Faïences à reflets métalliques de la grande mosquée de Kairouan* (Paris, 1928), pp. 15-33, Pls. I-XXVI.

¹⁸ Marçais, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 10. The text is from Ibn Nadjī, *Ma'ālim al-imān* (Tunis, 1320 H.), II, 97, l. 2-8. The first line

عمل الحراب جلبت له تلك القراميد الثينية
لجلس اراد ان يعمله وجلبت له من بغداد
خشب الساج

has been translated by Marçais: "[l'emir] fit le mihrab. On emporta pour lui ces précieux panneaux de faïence pour une salle de réception qu'il voulait construire, et [aussi] de Baghdād des poutres de bois de teck..." According to Faris this should read: "...To it were brought those precious fired bricks for the hall which he wanted to build and there was brought to it from Baghdad teakwood..." The word *قرايميد*, translated by Marçais as "panneaux de faïence," is given no such meaning in any of the Arabic or Persian dictionaries. It undoubtedly derives from the Greek *κεραμίδς* and is used to denote either bricks or tiles or, in variant forms, gypsum and plaster. The text as translated by Faris does not seem to say that these bricks were actually brought to Baghdad along with the teakwood. Thus the entire assumption that the faïence tiles in the mosque at

Kairouan were imported from Baghdad finds no support.

¹⁹ Bahramī, *op. cit.*, p. 28, would establish the presence of luster tiles at Shiraz as early as the second half of the tenth century. He says of a palace erected by 'Aḡud al-Dawla: "Arrêtons-nous un instant devant le pavillon décoré de faïences semblables aux porcelaines de Chine: nous y reconnaissons l'exemple le plus ancien de l'usage des carreaux de revêtement en Iran musulman." The source of this idea comes from his translation of a passage in Muḡaddasī which describes the palace. His translation (pp. 26-27) reads: "Ces pavillons étaient de diverses couleurs: l'un semblable à la porcelaine de Chine, l'autre couleur de pierre, le troisième de marbre et le quatrième décoré de peintures et de dorures." Actually this passage does not come from the established text but from a note giving a variant reading from manuscript C (Al-Muḡaddasī, *Descriptio imperii moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje [Leyden, 1877], p. 450, note b), which, according to Dr. Faris, reads: "And he made some of the houses of the color of greenish Chinese clay, while others were of stone color, and some were paved with marble, some gilt and painted with pictures." The crucial word in the text is *غضار*, which, according to the dictionaries of Richardson, Poole, and Hava, means a cohesive and pure clay of a greenish color. The exact meaning of the passage in Muḡaddasī is difficult to determine.

architectural ensemble. This latter conception was first demonstrated in the monuments of the early twelfth century.

There is a single qualification of the statement that glazed materials did not find an architectonic use on buildings until the twelfth century. It has to do with the use of glazed tiles or bricks upon exterior domes. A very early use of glazed materials on vaulted buildings of the Islamic period came about most logically—not only did the vaults themselves require a protective coating against the weather, but the domes seem to have been thought of as notable landmarks, and they were decorated in a deliberate attempt to enhance their appearance from a distance. References certify the early use of colored tiles on domes. Mas'ūdī, writing in the tenth century, stated:

We have set forth in our intermediate book, which this one follows, the story of Baghdad, the reason for its being so called, and what people say concerning it, as well as the story of the green dome and its destruction at the present time, and the story of another green dome which al-Ḥadīdī built at Wāsiṭ, where it still stands until the present day, namely the year 332.”²⁰

In the earliest settlement on the site of Baghdad, the “round city” of the Caliph Mansur, each of the gatehouses which protected the main entrances to the city was crowned with a green cupola. Le Strange, who gives this reference,²¹ assumes that the domes were covered with tiles—and certainly the green dome at Wāsiṭ was so treated. At the center of the round city of Mansur was his great palace, known as the Golden Gate (Bāb al-Dhahab) or Palace of the Green Dome (al-Ḳubbat al-Khudra), of which the focal element was a structure crowned by a large green dome that remained standing only until 329 H. (941 A.D.).²² Under the Caliph Mu'taḍid the great mosque situated at the heart of Mansur's city was enlarged and restored, and about 290 H. (903 A.D.) Ibn Rusta wrote of it: “And in this city is a congregational mosque built of gypsum and fired bricks, raised on teak columns and covered with a teak roof studded with lapis lazuli.”²³

In 1226 Yāḳūt visited Baghdad and recorded details of some of the buildings that he saw. He mentions that the tomb of a saintly person named al-'Abbādī was covered with blue tiles.²⁴ Far to the east in the province of Khurasan Yāḳūt visited the mausoleum of Sultan Sandjar at Merv and wrote of it: “And his tomb is in it underneath a great dome which has a window overlooking the mosque. The dome is blue and could be seen from a day's journey.”²⁵

²⁰ Maḡoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*, trans. by C. Barbier de Meynard (Paris, 1871), VI, 171. The text has been re-translated by Faris.

²¹ G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), p. 24. It is not likely that these domes were sheathed in weathered copper, for when copper was used on buildings specific mention of the material was given (there are at least two such references).

²² Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²³ Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafisa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1892), p. 109. This reference is given

in Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 36. The word used for lapis lazuli is لَازُلِي.

²⁴ Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 79. In 580 H. (1184 A.D.) Ibn Djubair had seen a white dome over the shrine of Abū Ḥanīfa at Baghdad. This dome may have been merely whitewashed. See Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

²⁵ Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-70), IV, 509, l. 6 and 7. The mausoleum was erected by Sultan Sandjar before his death in 1157 A.D. The appearance of such a blue dome has been depicted in a nearly contemporary manuscript, a *Maḳā-*

Some references do exist to the use of glazed materials on other parts of structures besides their domes. Yāqūt says, concerning the appearance of the city of Rayy: "It is a town of wonderful beauty built of carefully made fired bricks with a bluish glaze painted on them in the same manner as on pottery bowls in other parts of the world."²⁶ In his notice of the town of Kashan he writes: "From it are brought the kashani (kāshānī) bowls, which the common people call kashi."²⁷

Writing during the first half of the twelfth century Nizāmī 'Arūdī described an imaginary house, but one which has certain clearly recognizable features. He says: "When Ma'mūn came into the apartments of the bride he saw a house plastered and painted and inlaid with īzār-i čīnī, better than the east at the time of dawn."²⁸ Abū 'l-Fidā', who lived from 1273 until 1331, has left an account of the use of faïence on monuments at Tabriz: "And its buildings are embellished with kāshānī, gypsum, and plaster."²⁹

Among the citations given above those from Yāqūt and of a later date are concerned with structures of the Seljuk and Mongol periods—buildings of these periods decorated with faïence still survive. The passages earlier in time than Yāqūt are evidence for the use of faïence during centuries from which no specific examples survive. Most of the passages obviously refer to the use of large elements glazed with a single color, while the finds at Samarra, as well as the tenor of a few passages, attest the existence of glazed tiles covered with a metallic luster. With the mention of the village of Kashan and its product kashani, or kashi, the question of establishing more exactly just what kinds of faïence were being used on architecture is given a focal point for investigation. But before considering the products of the workshops of Kashan it may be well to quote passages of even later date than those already given, in order to present the total amount of literary evidence available on the use of architectural faïence up to the end of the Mongol period.

An interesting description of a monastery built at Maragha at the very end of the thirteenth century and dedicated to John the Baptist has been preserved. It reads in part: "The whole of the outside of the dome of the altar is inlaid with green-glazed (kashani) tiles, and on top of it is placed a cross."³⁰

māt of al-Ḥarirī, completed in 1237 A.D. (Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. arabe 5847; scene: Seance XLIII). A group of figures stands before the architectural background of a small village. At the left is a mosque identifiable by a minaret and a dome. The dome is blue in color and is marked only with thin black lines which radiate from its apex. This illustration is reproduced in color in "The Assemblies of al-Hariri," *Verve*, English ed., I (1938), Fasc. 3, 22.

²⁶ Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, II, 893, l. 12-14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 15, l. 2 and 3. The new translation of this passage does much to clarify the relation of the two terms to each other, especially in view of the fact that the term "kashi" has frequently been considered to be

the original descriptive form. Scarcely any references for either of these terms are to be found in the large Arabic and Persian dictionaries.

²⁸ Nizāmī 'Arūdī, *Čahār Maqāla*, ed. Mirza Muhammad (London, 1910), p. 20, l. 15. The translation given here has been made by Mr. Armajani. *Īzār-i čīnī* probably refers to a dado encircling a room and possibly composed of glazed and lustered tiles. For a further comment on the term *īzār* see footnote 41.

²⁹ Abū 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. M. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 401, l. 10.

³⁰ E. A. W. Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan* (London, 1928), p. 245.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭā, a native of Tangiers who spent the greater part of his life in travel and who wrote an account of his adventures shortly after the year 700 H. (1300 A.D.), describes a number of interesting buildings. Of the shrine buildings at Mashhad 'Alī in Iraq he says: "And beside it are schools, zāwiyas, and monasteries constructed in the best manner, and their walls are [covered] with kashani which is similar to our zalīdj, though it is of brighter color and better workmanship."³¹ Traveling eastward he reached Isfahan and noted of one building: "In it is a wonderful bathhouse, the floor of which is paved with marble, while its walls are [covered] with kashani."³² At Tabriz he visited the mosque of Ali Shah: "The court [of the mosque] is paved with marble and its walls [are covered] with kashani, which resembles zalīdj."³³ The mosque at Kālhāt, a village on the Persian Gulf, is briefly described: "It boasts a mosque which is one of the finest mosques. Its walls [are covered] with kashani which resembles zalīdj."³⁴ Concerning the town of Birgi he writes: "There is [in that place] a reservoir of water into which the water flows from a basin [made of] white marble and covered over with kashani."³⁵ Even as far east as the city of Meshed in Khurasan he continued to note examples of architectural faïence, as his description of the sacred shrine area reveals: "And the venerated shrine has over it a great dome [situated] in a courtyard. At its side is a school and a mosque, all of which are of good construction, with their walls done with kashani."³⁶

Ibn Baṭṭūṭā states that the kashani was finer in effect than zalīdj,³⁷ which was the comparable product made in his home territory of North Africa. It is interesting to note that the first time he uses the word kashani he defines it in comparative terms. Even more important is the fact that Ibn Baṭṭūṭā never actually visited the village of Kashan, although he did visit Isfahan which is not far away, and hence he may have picked up the proper term at almost any point in his journeys. Were the workshops of Kashan so renowned at this period that its name as an adjective was applied to certain types of ceramics regardless of where they were actually made? The use of the term by other writers shows that it had a considerable vogue, and it may have been used to cover a wide range of products, for it is certain that it was applied both to a type of pottery bowls and to glazed tiles. Most significant is the fact that the different travelers seem to have used the term kashani in a limited way and were not trying to describe any of the stages in the development of mosaic faïence.

Kashan, long neglected in the study of Persian ceramics, is considered by recent opinion to have been an outstanding center of such production. Does its pre-eminence in the production of ordinary pottery and tiles mean that its workshops pioneered in the manufacture of the faïence used on architecture—what might be called the protomosaic faïence forms? Do the kinds and colors of the glazes made at Kashan have a special correspondence to those of the architectural faïence?

³¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭā*, ed. and trans. by C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1893), I, 415. The text only of this publication has been used—all translations are by Faris. The six passages selected from this author are presented in his own chronological sequence.

³² *Ibid.*, II, 46.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 130.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 225.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 297.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 78–79.

³⁷ In Spanish the word *azulejo* is the most common term for glazed tiles.

Kashan during its highly productive period in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is known to have turned out several different types of glazed material. One specialty was the manufacture of glazed and lustered mihrabs which were built up of a number of fired tiles bearing inscriptions or decoration in high relief. Seventeen such dated mihrabs, presumed to have been made in Kashan, still survive either in complete or fragmentary form; they were made between 627 H. (1229 A.D.) and 724 H. (1333 A.D.).³⁸ Another product of exactly the same technique was the large rectangular revetment plaque bearing inscriptions in raised relief, decorated in color glaze, and often with a luster decoration as well. Many specimens of these pieces survive in museums.³⁹ The contemporary term for them seems to have been *katibe*,⁴⁰ in reference to the fact that they all bore inscriptions. Another class of material was made up of the usual pottery in a variety of sizes and shapes; there is no reason for describing it here. Finally, there was the *Izār-i Khāna*,⁴¹ one of the contemporary names for tiles which were glazed and usually lustered. It seems highly probable that these tiles are what Ibn Baṭṭūṭā called *kashani*. In shape they were pentagons, octagons, eight-pointed stars, or crosses. They were usually about 2 centimeters in thickness and in the case of the star tiles varied from 20 centimeters to 33 centimeters across. The stylistic features of these luster tiles have been described in a number of recent articles intended to establish the characteristics of the products of the Kashan workshops as well as to arrange in chronological sequence a large number of dated tiles and pottery vessels.⁴² The earliest tile in the typical Kashan style dates from the opening years of the thirteenth century.

There is some direct evidence as to the manner in which these tiles were used. Apparently they were invariably so placed as to form a dado about 2 meters high around the lower walls of an especially important room. Often this room was a tomb chamber or the focal element of a shrine complex. Magnificent octagon, star, and cross tiles of the time of Sultan Sandjar and

³⁸ A list which includes these mihrabs is given by R. Ettinghausen ("Dated Persian Faïence of the Islamic Period," *A Survey of Persian Art* [London, 1938], pp. 1667-96). A description of a related group of six of these mihrabs appears in H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre, R. Winderlich, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik* (Istanbul, 1935), pp. 62-67. In the following pages this publication will be referred to as *Orientalische Steinbücher*.

³⁹ Many such plaques are illustrated in *A Survey of Persian Art*, V, Pls. 724-25.

⁴⁰ See Bahrami, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴¹ This term occurs in the principal text published in *Orientalische Steinbücher*, p. 43, as *ازارخانه*. In the *Čahār Maḳāla* of Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, quoted on page 24, the expression *ایزارچینی* is used. The word *آزر* in Arabic means "to surround," and the same word in Hebrew,

used as a noun, means "a girdle." The Persian form, *ایزار*, is rarely used in an architectural connection and then only in the sense of a support for one's back when seated, or a ledge, or the part of a wall from the floor to the ledge. Thus its use in these texts is an exceptional one, for it clearly has the meaning of tiles used to coat part of a building.

⁴² R. Ettinghausen, "New Affiliations to a Classical Persian Pottery Type," *Parnassus*, VIII (1936), 10-12; *idem*, "Evidence for the Identification of Kāshān Pottery," *Ars Islamica*, III (1936), Pt. I, 44-70; A. U. Pope, "A Signed Kashan Mina'i Bowl," *Burlington Mag.*, LXIX (1936), 144-47; *idem*, "New Findings in Persian Ceramics of the Islamic Period," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Iranian Art and Archaeol.*, V (1937), Pt. 2, 149-69; Bahrami, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-122; *idem*, "Le Problème des ateliers d'étoiles," *Rev. arts asiatiques*, X (1937), fasc. 4, 180-91.

later were employed in this fashion in the tomb chamber of Imam Riḍā at Meshed, where they may still be seen.⁴³ A large number of the thirteenth-century Kashan tiles which have been preserved are dated 660 H. (1262 A.D.). These were originally used as a dado in the Imāmzāda Yaḥyā of Varāmīn. Those dated 665 H. (1276 A.D.) are from the Imāmzāda Djā'far at Damghan.⁴⁴ Tiles dated 707 H. (1307 A.D.) and 738 H. (1337 A.D.) from a dado in the Imāmzāda Djā'far at Kum are now on display in the museum at Kum.⁴⁵ The lower walls of the tomb of Shaikh 'Abd al-Ṣamad at Naṭanz, completed in 707 H. (1307 A.D.), were once decorated with star and cross tiles—all the more valuable stars have disappeared, but many of the solid-blue glazed cross tiles remain in position.

The earliest dated tiles reflect an already well-developed technique, so that it can be assumed that those mentioned in the first texts cited, those of the years before 1200 A.D., were of a somewhat similar type. There is no actual evidence that the tiles were designated by the term *kashani* until the time of Yāḳūt.

The fact that the tiles were used consistently on dadoes and were unchanged in type over a long period of time (about one hundred and fifty years) proves that they had no influence upon the direction taken and the forms assumed by the developing architectural mosaic faïence. During the entire period of time which saw the evolution of mosaic faïence the shapes and types of the glazed and lustered tiles remained quite unaltered.

Even with the fact established that the well-known types of ceramics from Kashan had no direct influence upon the forms of architectural faïence some time must be given to the details of the ceramic technique as practiced at Kashan, primarily in order to determine what kinds and colors of glazes were used in architectural faïence.

Fortunately, an investigation of the workshop methods has been made easy by the recent publication of two manuscripts, one of which, written at Tabriz in 700 H. (1300 A.D.) describes the details of the potter's craft as carried on at Kashan.⁴⁶ The author has been identified as a member of a family whose signed productions in the field of ceramics still survive. The text enumerates the materials used for the pastes, for the glazes, and for the luster finishes of the pottery and wall tiles, and describes the process of firing. Little or no accurate description of the sizes and shapes of the pieces so produced is given, and the wall tiles themselves seem to be

⁴³ The inscription of Sultan Sandjar is published in *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Le Caire, 1937), VIII, No. 2978. The text was assembled from readings of thirty-four tiles first published in the *Maṭla' al-Shams*. The date given is 512 H. (1118 A.D.), and the title of the ruler appears as Sultan Sandjar ibn Abū'l-Faṭḥ Muhammad. These two facts give rise to a minor historical problem. First of all, the title is given in an unusual form. Second, the date seems curious. Sandjar's brother, Sultan Muhammad, who died late in 1118 A.D., left the throne to his son, Mahmud. Sandjar challenged the succession and defeated Mahmud in battle

in the spring of 1119 A.D., but did not manage to subdue all his enemies until 1132 A.D. Did he pre-empt the title of sultan immediately after his brother's death and without a valid claim for so doing? Some of the later tiles in the chamber are published in color by E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* (Berlin, 1918), Pl. 41.

⁴⁴ The Imāmzāda Yaḥyā tiles were seen in position by the Dieulafoys in 1881.

⁴⁵ A reference to the tiles at Damghan, Varāmīn, and Kum is given in *A Survey of Persian Art*, p. 1573, footnote 1.

⁴⁶ See *Orientalische Steinbücher*, pp. 18–38.

included in the same general class as the pottery vessels. The most exhaustive portion of the text deals with the colors and compositions of the glazes used, and in this connection it will be necessary to summarize a number of passages that have a definite bearing upon the colors used in architectural faïence. The other text, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century, discusses the properties of the ore called *lādward*.

The blue glazes of Kashan were based on an ore called *sulaimānī* or *lādward*, which seems to have been a compound of cobalt, sulphur, and arsenic. Used in very small quantities, one part to forty parts of powdered glass, it produced a gray-blue or sapphire-blue glaze. Another blue glaze was known as *lādward* blue and seems to have included a fairly large proportion of the *lādward* ore, hence it was presumably deep blue in color. For an opaque turquoise blue roasted copper ore was used. To produce a gray glaze the *lādward* ore was mixed with a small amount of red lead. Black glaze was obtained by adding a tenth part of manganese ore to powdered glass; a somewhat smaller proportion of the same ore gave an aubergine shade.

Even after a careful reading of the manuscript it is not easy to tell exactly the number of colors of glaze used nor to give the exact composition of each one. The editors of the text deal first with *lādward*, which the text describes as an ore made up of a dark matrix that contains shining particles like silver (iron pyrites); they identify this ore as CoSAs.⁴⁷ The second of the two texts contains a description of *lādward* in which the ore can be recognized as true lapis lazuli, defined by the editors as sulphurous aluminum silicate composed of a matrix or earth of white stone in which are the gold flecks of the sulphurous gravel.⁴⁸ In spite of such contradictory descriptions in the two texts it seems clear that three different kinds of blue glaze were known to the authors: a transparent gray blue or sapphire blue, an opaque turquoise blue, and a *lādward* blue which was certainly deep in color.

Perhaps it is advisable to relate these three colors as described with the samples of blue faïence surviving from this same period and to select a suitable descriptive name for each shade. It is unfortunately true that most published accounts of Islamic pottery list a large variety of color names without any indication of what exact shade each name is meant to imply. In a recent comment on the texts just discussed Erdmann⁴⁹ has followed a simple terminology in suggesting that *lādward* or lapis lazuli blue is a deep dark blue and that the lighter blue should be referred to as turquoise blue. Now, during the development of mosaic faïence only two tones of blue are used over a very long period of time. The darker of these colors shows surprisingly little variation in color between a large number of samples, although some specimens are rather grayer and less intense than others. It is a deep dark blue ranging close to violet in color value but without any reddish tinge; it is incorrect to refer to the color as

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52. *Lādward* was the standard term used to describe lapis lazuli from at least the Seljuk period down to the present day. The Arabic form is لآزورد, the Persian is لاجورد. See footnote 50 for its possible use

in glazes.

⁴⁹ K. Erdmann, "A Note on the So-called Mina'i Faïence," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Persian Art and Archaeol* 1936, pp. 218-21.

lapis or ultramarine, and it is not quite cobalt blue in color, so that the most suitable term for it is simply dark blue.⁵⁰ The other blue varies considerably more in tone. In general it is rather light in color and ranges from a true blue unmixed with red or yellow to a decidedly greenish blue.⁵¹ This color, sometimes called sapphire blue and sometimes turquoise blue, will be referred to as light blue. Sky blue is an apt descriptive name for a majority of the specimens, but some are rather too green to come under such a heading.

The blue glazes have merited special attention not only because of the question of terminology but because the two tones of blue are the first colors to appear in the preliminary development of mosaic faïence. Was this fact the result of an age-old preference for the color because of its universally recognized talismanic properties, because the color was the easiest to control during the process of firing, or because the coloring material was more easily extracted from the crude ore? The last of these suggested reasons seems to be the most likely one.

The blue glazes, particularly the dark blue, are surprisingly consistent in color over a very long period of time. Such a fact implies that the same results could always be obtained, could in fact be guaranteed in advance. Now it is definitely known that during the later phases in the use of mosaic faïence the actual mosaic material was produced in many different villages, and it is reasonable to suppose that even during the thirteenth century production of architec-

⁵⁰ Professor E. R. Caley, of Princeton University, has made qualitative analyses of the glazes on six specimens of architectural faïence. One sample of light blue glaze came from the so-called caravanserai of Hülâgû (see footnote 77). A sample of dark blue glaze, not actually architectural in character but of exactly the same color as the other dark blues, was from a waster of the type of the glazed-relief vessels produced at Kashan and Sultanabad near the end of the thirteenth century A.D. This waster is in the possession of A. U. Pope. Of the four additional samples a dark blue one and a light blue one were of the fifteenth century A.D. and a dark blue one and a light blue one were of the early seventeenth century A.D. All glazes of each color were essentially similar in composition. There were no lead or tin glazes. Instead, each glaze is essentially vitreous—a fusion of a selected coloring matter with a mixture prepared to furnish the glass of the glaze. That on the samples is approximately the thickness of a piece of blotting paper, and its adhesion to the fired body is not very great.

The dark blue glaze consists in a fusion of the glass with a small amount, probably only 2 or 3 per cent, of a cobalt coloring matter. The cobalt compound added to the glass mixture may have been cobalt oxide, Co_3O_4 , obtained by roasting such a mineral as CoAsS . The characteristic or average color of this glaze is fairly close to that of a standard sheet of cobalt blue glass as manu-

factured by the Corning Glass Company, but the samples are noticeably darker and less intense in color.

It seems important to note here that lapis lazuli or pure ultramarine will not impart color to a glaze. The blue coloring of the lapis ore is due to the presence of lazurite, $3\text{NaAlSiO}_3 \cdot \text{Na}_2\text{S}$. When lazurite is heated it decomposes; hence, if the mineral were incorporated into a mixture of powdered glass, and heated, it would give no coloration. Thus it is incorrect to describe a glaze as being ultramarine or lapis.

⁵¹ The analyses of Professor Caley indicate that the light blue glaze results from a fusion in firing between the materials used to produce the glass of the glaze, a copper compound, and, in small quantities, an iron compound. In the samples examined copper and iron may have been present in nearly equal amounts. Had copper alone been used the color of the glaze would have been a true light blue without any greenish tinge. The blue coloration is imparted by iron silicate. The presence of the iron imparts a greenish tinge to the glaze of the samples. The iron may have been associated in nature with the copper compound; it may have been included accidentally—as a constituent of the quartz pebbles used to make the glass—or it may have been a deliberate addition. During the fifteenth century A.D., and later, a yellow-ocher glaze was produced by the use of iron alone as the coloring ingredient.

tural faïence was not confined to Kashan, Baghdad, and Tabriz.⁵² Perhaps the powdered materials for the glazes whose sources of supply were limited were passed from artisans in one town to those in another or perhaps they were sold in the bazaars in the same manner in which powdered-earth pigments are offered in Iran at the present day.

The manner in which the Izār-i *Khāna* or glazed and lustered tiles were used has already been considered, and to clarify the points discussed so far the conclusions reached concerning them are here summarized: Such tiles appear as elements of dado decoration in the late Seljuk period. By the year 1310 A.D. the technique of mosaic faïence was, as will be shown later, fully developed. The problem is whether the Arab and Persian geographers and travelers who wrote after this date had in mind surfaces of mosaic faïence or dadoes of wall tiles when they speak of kashani-lined walls. In most cases it is not clear whether they are describing exterior or interior wall surfaces. Yāqūt seems to say that the houses at Rayy had their exterior surfaces covered with solid-color tiles. But in Ibn Baṭṭūṭā's description of a bath in Isfahan the very nature of the structure suggests that the faïence decoration was on the interior walls. At Meshed some of the specifically mentioned kashani walls may have been the high dadoes in the tomb chamber of Imam Rīdā.⁵³ The general conclusion is that the use of glazed and lustered wall tiles not only preceded the fully developed faïence but that the tiles continued to be used in the same limited fashion after mosaic faïence had become popular. The production of wall tiles was much more closely associated with that of ordinary pottery than was the manufacture of mosaic faïence. This is demonstrated by the fact that the latter material falls into a separate category as an element of pure architectural design and was produced according to order and in limited quantities.

The successive stages in the gradual development of mosaic faïence can now be established by a direct examination of a series of monuments. Although the order of presentation should ideally be a strictly chronological one, certain undated structures have been listed in the series at points where they seem to belong when judged on stylistic grounds. The following tabulation cannot claim to be completely comprehensive, and it is to be expected that its appearance will bring to light additional material which can then be included in the series.⁵⁴

1. *Damghan, the minaret of the Masjdīd-i Djāmi'*. This minaret may be dated about 450 H. (1058 A.D.).⁵⁵ Just below its tip it is encircled by an inscription in Kufic letters (*Fig. 2*). Apparently the inscription is composed of a number of large rectangular slabs, each of which contains several letters in relief. The letters are coated with a light blue glaze which varies slightly in color from one slab to the next. The glaze seems to have been a thin one, for in

⁵² The earlier of the two texts published in the *Orientalische Steinbücher* was written in Tabriz. It compares certain materials used at Kashan, Tabriz, and Baghdad, as well as the kind of wood used to fire the kilns in each place. It is evident that all three cities were important centers in the production of glazed ceramics.

⁵³ See footnote 43, and D. M. Donaldson, "Significant Mihrābs in the Ḥaram at Mashhad," *Ars Islamica*, II

(1935), Pt. 1, 118-27.

⁵⁴ The majority of the buildings to be described have been seen by the author, who thus assumes responsibility for statements concerning them.

⁵⁵ This is the date suggested by Herzfeld in M. B. Smith and E. Herzfeld, "Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzūn, a Dated Seldjūq Ruin," *Archaeol. Mitteil. aus Iran*, VII (1935), Pt. 2-3, 78. A comparison of the brick patterns

many places it has worn off, but the actual core of the letters beneath remains in good condition. Many of the letters ascend to the tops of the slabs either as upright strokes or as ornamental endings; the areas between the letters are unglazed. From the ground these areas show as unglazed, although the general type of the slabs used is much like the usual katibe plaques which were entirely covered with glaze. The use of such slabs has little in common with employment of faïence pieces designed intrinsically as architectural ornament—a technique which the following examples will illustrate.

2. *Sandjan, near Turbat-i-Haidari in Khurasan*. Dated approximately 500 H. (1100 A.D.). This is a ruined building lying on the outskirts of the small modern village.⁵⁶ One wall of the square dome chamber is preserved to the full height of the zone of transition. Here the span-

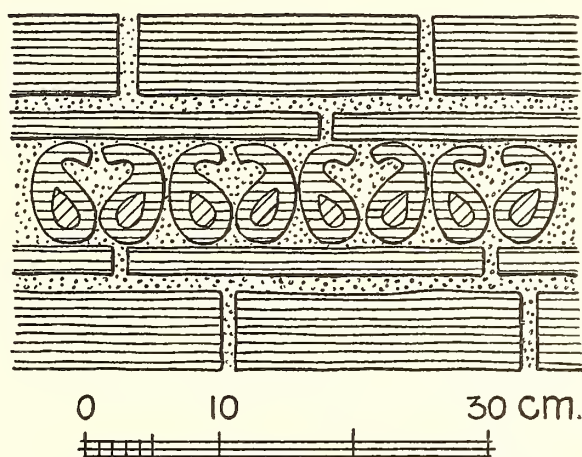


FIG. 4—BORDER, DOME CHAMBER, MASĠID-I DJĀMI', KAZVIN

drel of one wall arch is decorated with a diagonal square pattern in fired brick. At the center of smaller enclosed squares are simple square pieces, a few centimeters on a side, of light blue faïence (Fig. 3).

3. *Kazvin, Masġid-i Djāmi'*. The focal point of this great congregational mosque, dated 509 H. (1115 A.D.), is a large dome chamber with inscriptions recording the dates of its completion and decoration. Above the wide horizontal band of a stucco inscription which encircles the chamber at a height of about 8.5 meters from the floor is a border containing pieces of light blue faïence. The border (Fig. 4) is composed of bricks cut into the *Ficus indica* shape (this motif is so common in Islamic art, especially on textiles, that it has a dozen different

on this minaret and the manner in which they are executed with the earlier dated monuments in Damghan makes this suggested dating seem most plausible. It is possible that if sufficiently good photographs could be taken of the top of the minaret the inscription there

would furnish a date.

⁵⁶ D. Wilber, "The Two Structures at Sanjan," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Iranian Art and Archaeol.*, V (1937), No. 1, 33-37. The building described here is Structure 2.

names). Into each brick a similarly shaped piece of light blue faïence is inset in a socket or hole carefully and painstakingly cut to receive it. The faïence pieces are very small in size and can be seen from the ground only with the aid of field glasses; their use implies a definite intellectual concept on the part of the architect or builder. This usage seems also to hint at unfamiliarity with the possibilities of the faïence material, for, not only would it have been better to use pieces large enough to convey an impression of bright color to a considerable distance, but the actual form of the pieces might better have been simple geometrical shapes consistent with the rigidity of the baked material.

4. *Kazvin, Masdjid-i Haidariya*. This monument is undated, but its central dome chamber is certainly of the same period as the main dome chamber of the Masdjid-i Djāmi' at Kazvin. Probably both structures are creations of the same architect.⁵⁷ As in the Masdjid-i Djāmi' pieces of faïence are found in association with a wide horizontal inscription band—here they occur in a border located just above the inscription (*Figs. 5 and 6*). The faïence pieces form a continuous border which is rather wider than a normal brick course, about 6 centimeters instead of from 4 to 5 centimeters, and they are set in very hard mortar. At Sandjān the faïence pieces were merely thrust into voids in the brick bonding and in the Masdjid-i Djāmi' at Kazvin they are incrustated in brick; this first use of architectural faïence placed in a mortar bed represents an advance in technique which at once became standard practice. Several shapes are used in the border: pairs of lozenges enclose pieces of different forms, two of which are circular, although one has the section of a truncated cone and the other has a smaller circle in raised relief upon its surface. The third shape enclosed between lozenges is a six-pointed star (in contrast to the eight-pointed-star tiles of Kashan). The truncated-cone pieces have dark blue glaze while all the others are coated with light blue faïence. It is perfectly clear that, with the possible exception of the lozenges, the shapes were molded and not merely cut from large flat glazed tiles. Not only does the projection in relief of the circular pieces make this clear, but the glaze runs over the edges of the pieces. Thus the pieces must have been designed and made for use in a border of exactly this type. The border itself is but a very small element in the total architectural ensemble. Therefore it can scarcely be imagined that the pieces were made especially for this position in any place a long distance away from Kazvin—for example in the workshops of Kashan. This possibility would imply not only a careful advance designing of details, a feature not thought to be characteristic of work of this period, but also a construction schedule which would bring the pieces to the spot at just the moment when they were needed—for if they arrived too soon they might be broken or mislaid; if too late the border would have been completed without them. Instead, it is nec-

⁵⁷ In both chambers the zones of transition are very much alike; the similarity extends from the general type to such minor details as the patterns of the brick joint incisions and the carved ornament on the underside of the wooden corbel brackets used below the ends of the squinch arches. The elaborate lettering of the stucco

inscriptions in both chambers is also comparable, except that in the Masdjid-i Haidariya there are more complicated floral forms and the cutting is more plastic and goes back more deeply from the front plane. These features suggest a date a few years later than the chamber of the Masdjid-i Djāmi'.

essary to postulate a ceramic workshop in Kazvin, or the immediate neighborhood, which was well enough equipped so that the architect after his sketchy experiment with color in the Masdjid-i *Djāmi'* could launch out more boldly with the new material in the Masdjid-i *Ḥaidariya*, confident that he could obtain just the type of material he wanted at just the moment when he needed it. It is even possible to see the source of the designer's inspiration in the ornamental borders of cut terra-cotta pieces (*Fig. 1*), which were very popular during the Seljuk period.

5. *Sīn, near Isfahan*. At the very top of the now incomplete shaft which was the minaret

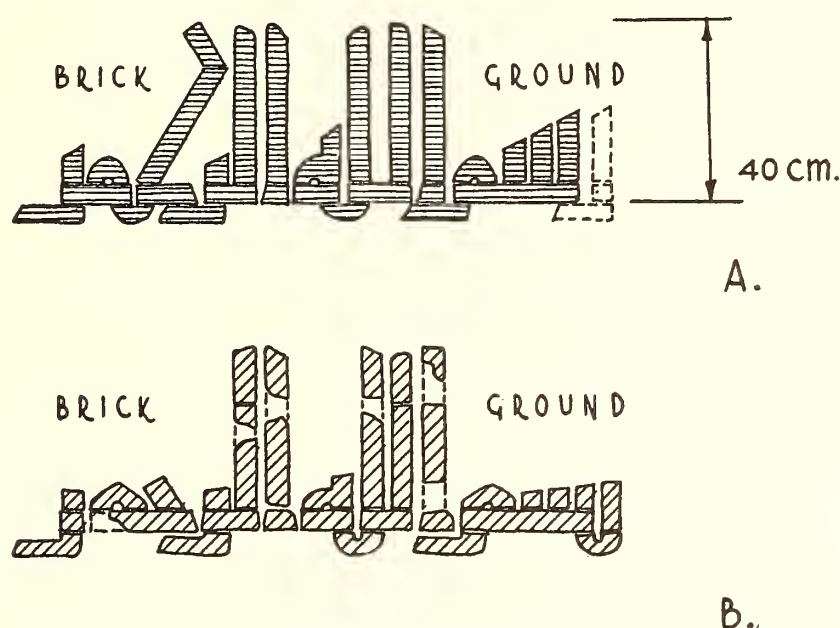


FIG. 7—FIRST WORDS OF TWO INSCRIPTIONS, MINARET, MOSQUE, SĪN

of this mosque, dated 526 H. (1131 A.D.),⁵⁸ is an inscription band, the letters of which are composed of light blue faïence pieces. The glaze is confined to the outer faces of the pieces. At the top of the base of the minaret is a panel containing an inscription in molded and fired Kufic characters. The Basmala occurs in both inscriptions and offers an interesting comparison of letter forms (see *Fig. 7* in which *A* is the fired and *B* the glazed inscription). The variation between the different mediums of glazed and unglazed letters is very slight. Since the molded and unglazed letters were certainly made in the locality it is highly probable that the glazed letters which are so very similar were also made in Isfahan instead of being brought from any

⁵⁸ Published by M. B. Smith, "The Manārs of Iṣfahān," *Athār-e Īrān*, I (1936), Fasc. II, 327-28 and Figs.

216 and 217. [See also M. B. Smith's article in this number of *Ars Islamica*, pp. 1-10. Editor.]

distance. Apparently the faïence strips are set within the interstices between the bricks rather than embedded in mortar.⁵⁹

6. *Kerman*. This is a small structure known in modern times as the *Khawādja* Atābek. The building is undated but has been assigned by its recorder on stylistic grounds to the Seljuk period and may date about 530 H. (1135 A.D.).⁶⁰ All the wall surfaces are covered with a multitude of regularly repeating incised designs. At certain points in the general pattern pieces of light blue faïence, the great majority of which have now disappeared, were inset (*Fig. 8*). These pieces were of two different shapes. The larger, only a few diameters in breadth, was an eight-pointed star provided on its rear face with a small knob which helped attach the piece firmly to the core of the structure. The other shape was a very small four-pointed star.

7. *Maragha in the district of Azerbaijan*. The Gunbad-i Surkh is a tomb tower dated 542 H. (1147 A.D.).⁶¹ This tower illustrates in a single monument both a reversion to a very primitive use of faïence and a definite advance in technique over anything thus far seen. The retrograde feature is the use of very small square pieces of light blue faïence, only a few centimeters on a side, which were thrust at random into the exterior brick surface of the structure and especially into the engaged angle columns. The development of the faïence technique is reflected in the pattern in the tympanum above the entrance doorway (*Figs. 9 and 10*). This tympanum is filled with a carefully executed pattern in "strapwork" ornament. By "strapwork" is meant a pattern formed of thin strips of material which are raised somewhat above the level of the surface in which they are embedded. Because of the thinness of the strips the actual pattern lines are a small part of the total area, and large pieces of the background or surface material are visible. In this particular case the background surface is hard plaster and

⁵⁹ Several other minarets situated in or near Isfahan illustrate the early use of architectural faïence. Since the shafts offer restricted areas for decoration and because the following examples are undated, they fall rather outside of the main development of mosaic faïence. Hence they are listed in this note rather than in the text.

At Isfahan the minaret of the Masdjid-i Ali, discussed by Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-37: Just under the cornice of the lower shaft is an inscription composed of strips of light blue faïence. The upper zone of the inscription is occupied by a repeating pattern, also in faïence strips, the upright ends of which run to the top of the cornice. The faïence pieces seem more deeply embedded in the fabric than at Sīn, but in spite of this precaution many of them have fallen out. This minaret may date in the middle of the Seljuk period.

At Isfahan, the minaret of Sārabān (*ibid.*, pp. 340-41): There are three inscriptions in light blue faïence and a border made up of alternate disks and lozenges of light blue faïence. The minaret probably dates from the middle or end of the Seljuk period.

At Zīār, near Isfahan, a minaret (*ibid.*, pp. 341-46): Pieces of light blue faïence are used in a number of ways: in an inscription band, in a border below this band made up of alternate disks and lozenges, panels with repeating inscriptions, and small pieces inset at certain points on the shaft. The minaret is probably late Seljuk in date.

At Rahrawān near Isfahan, a minaret (*ibid.*, p. 346): At the top of the shaft is an inscription in light blue faïence pieces. The minaret probably dates from near the end of the Seljuk period.

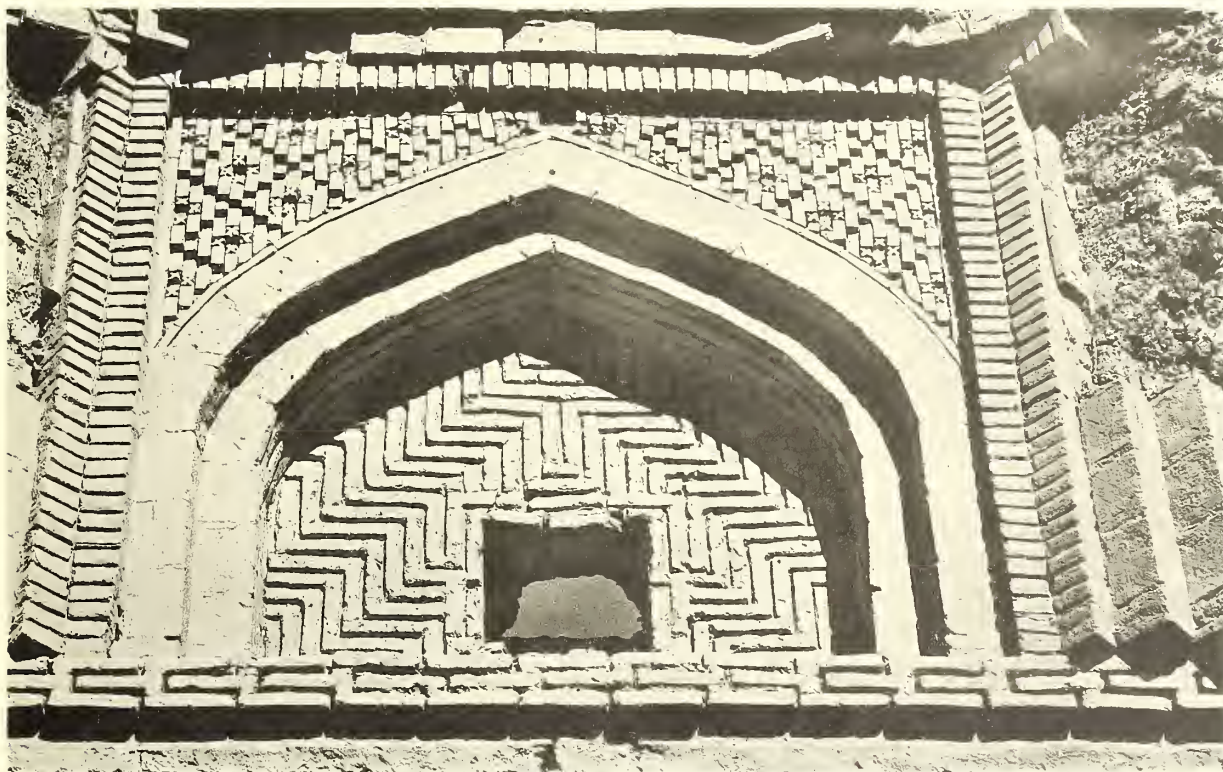
⁶⁰ See E. Schroeder, "Preliminary Note on Work in Persia and Afghanistan," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Persian Art and Archaeol.*, IV (1936), No. 3, 132. In a private communication Mr. Schroeder, who has kindly permitted the use of his unpublished material, suggests that a probable date for the structure is between 530 and 560 H. (1135 and 1164 A.D.).

⁶¹ For a description of the tower see A. Godard, "Notes complémentaires sur les tombeaux de Marāgha," *Athār-é Īrān*, I (1936), Fasc. I, 125-35.



PHOTOGRAPH: A. U. POPE

FIG. 2—GLAZED INSCRIPTION, MINARET, MASDJID-I DJĀMI'
DAMGHAN



PHOTOGRAPH: A. U. POPE

FIG. 3—ZONE OF TRANSITION, EARLY STRUCTURE, SANDJAN



PHOTOGRAPH: A. U. POPE

FIG. 5—BORDER AND INSCRIPTION BAND, MASDJID-I HĀIDARĪYA, KAZVIN

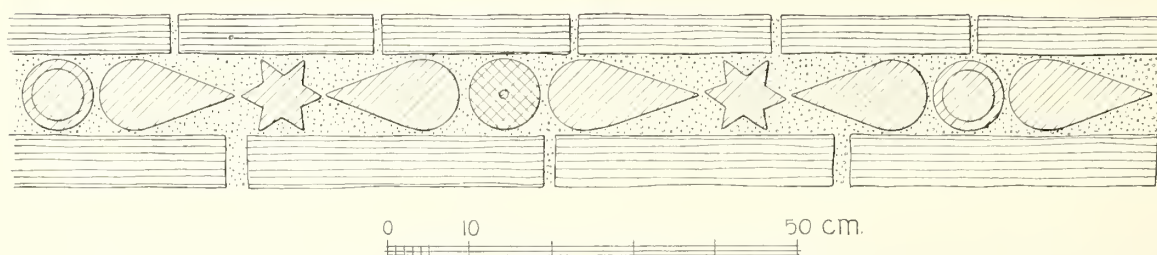
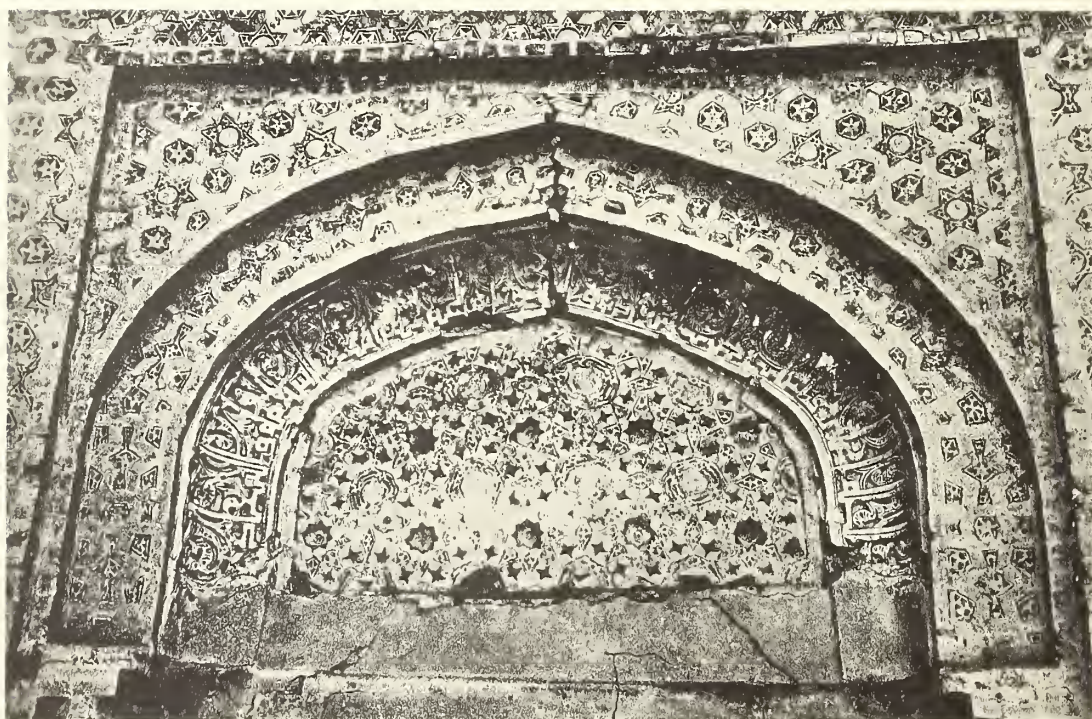


FIG. 6—DETAIL OF FAÏENCE BORDER, MASDJID-I HĀIDARĪYA, KAZVIN



PHOTOGRAPH: E. SCHROEDER

FIG. 8—TYMPANUM OF PORTAL, KHWĀDJA ATĀBEK, KERMĀN



PHOTOGRAPH: A. U. POPE

FIG. 9—PORTAL, GUNBAD-I SURKH, MARAGHA

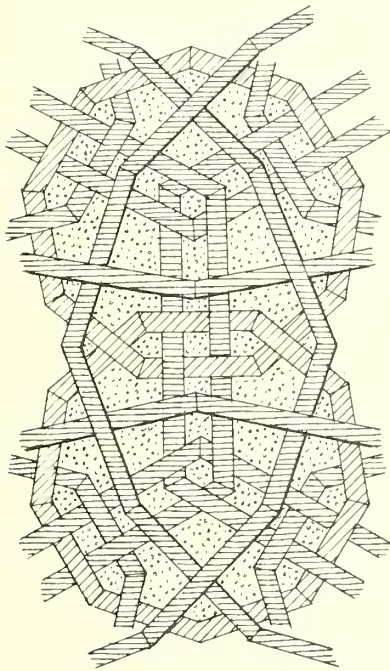
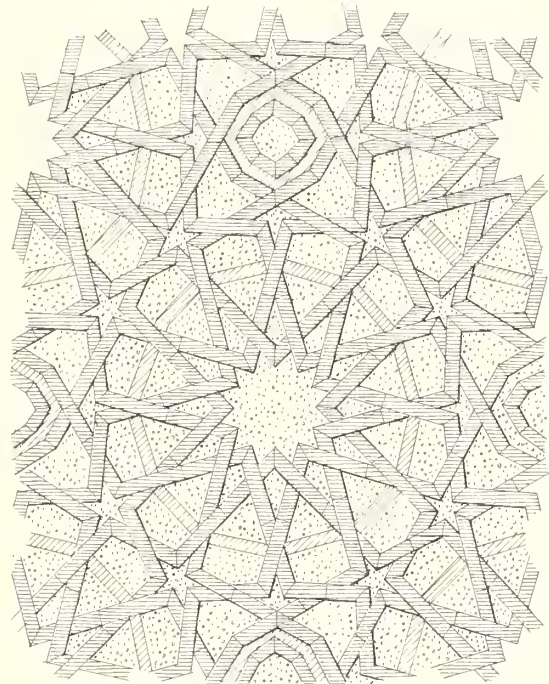
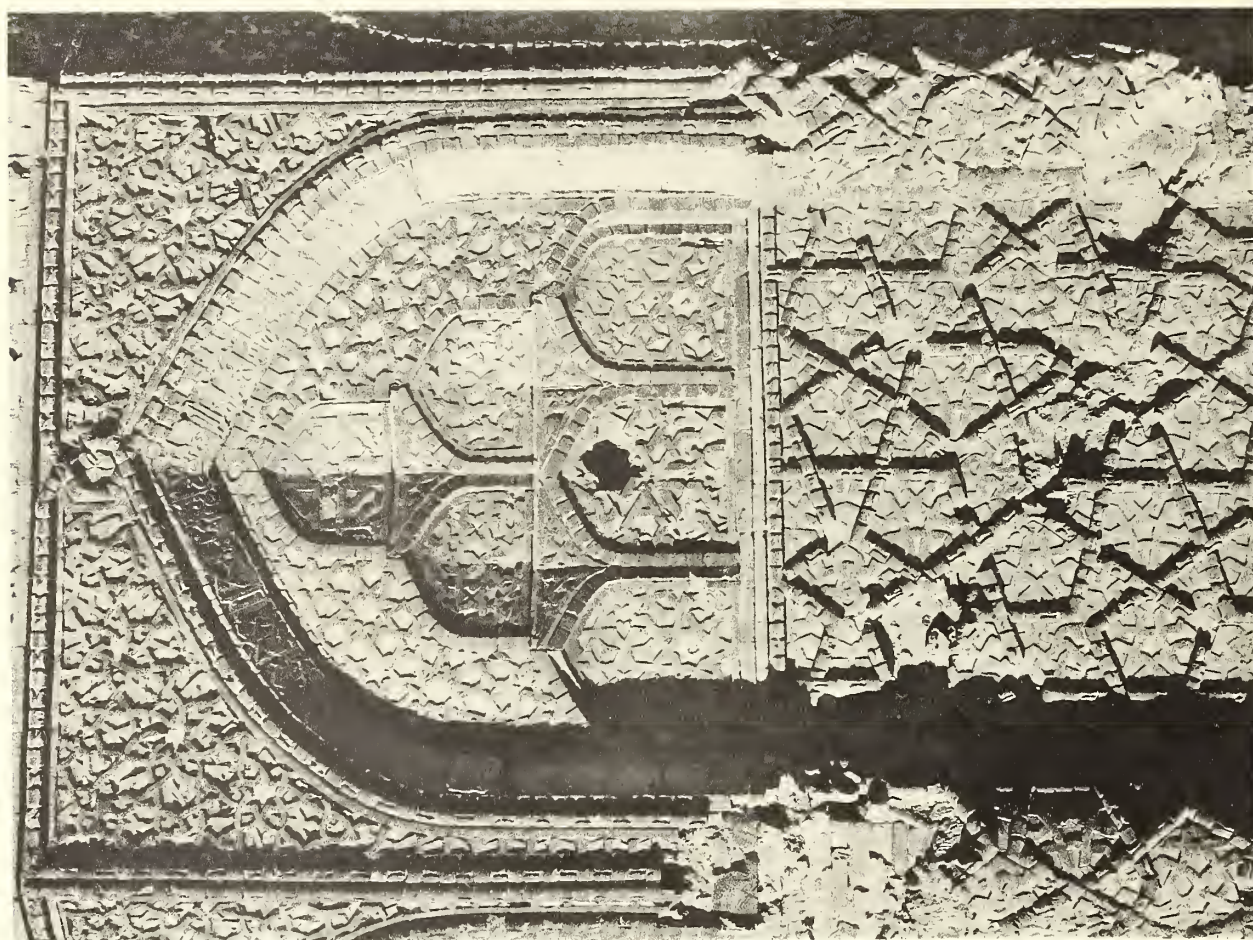


FIG. 10—PATTERN FROM PORTAL TYMPANUM
GUNBAD-I SURKH, MARAGHA



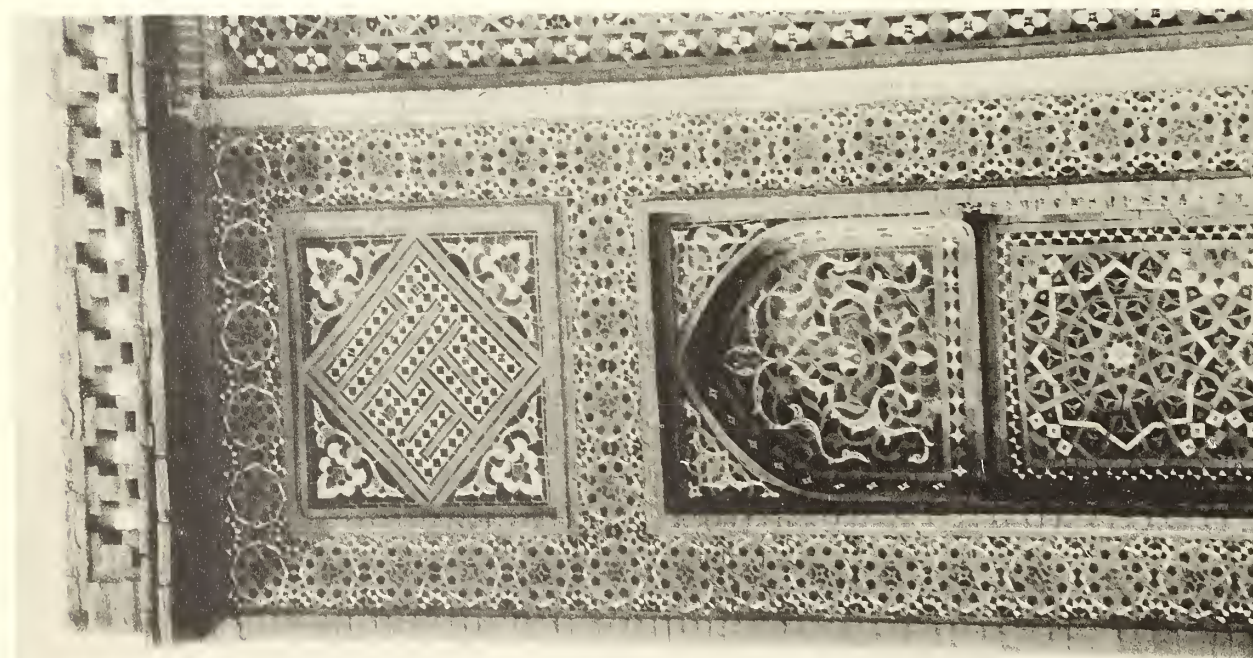
FROM SARRE

FIG. 12—PATTERN FROM GUNBAD-I MU'MINA
KHĀTŪN, NAKHICHEVAN



PHOTOGRAPH: *Survey of Persian Art*, R. BYRON

FIG. 16—UPPER PORTION OF THE GUNBAD-I KĀBŪD, MARAGHA



PHOTOGRAPH: A. U. POPE

FIG. 13—MOSAIC FAIENCE, MASDĪD-I DJĀMĪ, YEZD

bears indented floral patterns, while the actual strapwork pattern can be separated into several interweaving strands or threads. One of these strands is made up of rectangular strips of light blue faïence; the other strands are of plain fired terra-cotta pieces. It is important to note that the use of faïence pieces in the manner just described is the first example in which the material is employed as an essential part of the unified decoration of a large surface area. With this monument the first definite step along the path which will lead to the eventual use of complete mosaic faïence has been taken.

8. *Uzgard in Russian Turkestan and several hundred miles east of Samarkand.* This is the tomb of Djalāl al-Dīn, dated 547 H. (1152 A.D.). This monument, although far outside of Iran proper, falls within the same current of architectural development and style as the structures already examined. Possibly its decorative details reflect a certain lag behind contemporary work in Iran proper—the tentative use of faïence on the structure is an example of this point. Faïence appears in the spandrels over the arch of the main portal of the tomb.⁶² Just above the crown of the arch is a small piece of light blue faïence. The piece is five sided in shape—a rectangle of which the lower side has been pulled down at its midpoint to become two sections meeting at an angle instead of in a single straight line. At the center of each spandrel is a circular recess about 7 centimeters in diameter and a few centimeters deep. According to local account these two recesses were once filled with plaques of dark blue faïence. This seems highly probable, and it is also possible that the plaques may have been light blue in color to correspond with the piece set above the crown of the arch.

9. *Maragha.* This tomb tower is usually designated simply as the “round tower” and is dated 563 H. (1167 A.D.).⁶³ Its portal façade is obviously an imitation of that of the Gunbad-i Surkh. The tympanum over the door has a geometrical pattern like that of the Gunbad-i Surkh. The pattern is executed in baked terra-cotta strips set into an incised plaster ground. Faïence strips are not used in the pattern, an indication that the essential principle of the decoration of the Gunbad-i Surkh has not yet been grasped. Faïence is used in this same general area, however, for the inscription below the tympanum (*Fig. 11*), as well as the one above it, is executed in pieces of light blue faïence. The two inscriptions complete an ensemble of real decorative merit, of which the upper inscription with its elaborate letter ends is particularly striking. The location of the joints in the letters, as shown in the illustration, indicates that some of the elements were molded whereas others were merely cut to the desired shapes.

10. *Nakhichevan, in Soviet territory about two hundred kilometers north of Maragha.* This tomb tower, called the Gunbad-i Mu'mina Khātūn, is dated 582 H. (1186 A.D.).⁶⁴ In this monument the terra-cotta strapwork or reticulated ornament occurring above the portal

⁶² An account of the monument is given in E. Cohn-Wiener, *Turan, islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien* (Berlin, 1930). Plate XIII illustrates the portal arch and spandrels, and on pages 19 and 35 the faïence is discussed.

⁶³ For a description of the tower see Godard, *op. cit.*,

pp. 135–38.

⁶⁴ See F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst* (Berlin, 1901), where it is illustrated in two unnumbered plates; and E. Jacobsthal, *Mittelalterliche Bauten von Nachtschewan* (Berlin, 1899).

of the Gunbad-i Surkh has spread over all the exterior wall surfaces. The interlacing geometric patterns are of great richness and complexity (*Fig. 12*) and show in their developed forms the influence of the Gunbad-i Ibn Kuthaiyir of Nakhichevan, dated 558 H. (1162 A.D.), which has a similar type of ornamental revetment, but with the details less well executed, with the pattern on a larger scale, and without the employment of faïence. One color of faïence, light blue, is used on the tower of Mu'mina Khātūn, both in the general patterns and in the inscription friezes. Its use in the patterns is very similar to that seen in the Gunbad-i Surkh, for only certain strands of the patterns are picked out in faïence and most of them are still executed in the plain fired terra cotta. The wall panels merit a closer examination: the pattern lines or strands are either of plain terra cotta or of faïence, and the background is of plaster, with incised

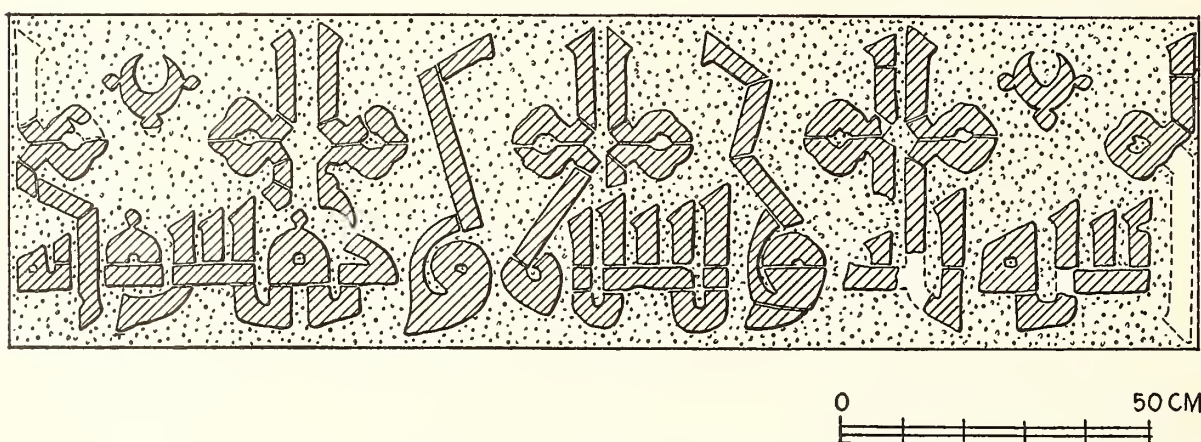


FIG. 11—INSCRIPTION FROM THE "ROUND TOWER," MARAGHA

floral or geometrical patterns. The whole pattern form and surface is thus entirely unrelated in materials and consistency to the fired brick core of the structure. Especially noteworthy is the fact that the actual patterns used here are those which will still be popular at a much later period. Here the wall surface is divided in effect between pattern and background, but in the Timurid and Safawid periods the same type of pattern will be considered as a single plane surface and executed entirely in mosaic faïence. Figure 13, which illustrates a portion of the Masjid-i Djāmi' at Yezd, affords a good specimen of middle fifteenth-century mosaic faïence—it is clearly apparent that the fundamental geometrical patterns are very similar to those of the tower of Mu'mina Khātūn. With the Mu'mina Khātūn faïence has begun its dispersion over architectural surfaces—the further steps toward complete mosaic faïence will consist merely in the replacement of all the terra-cotta strips or strands, and the background area as well, by pieces of faïence. Such a development, as simple as it sounds in outline form, will require over one hundred years from this date for its culmination.

Many of the inscriptions of the tower of Mu'mina Khātūn have their letters built up of

pieces of light blue faïence (*Fig. 14*). The forms of these blue letters, as well as of the purely decorative space fillers, can be compared to inscriptions on two minarets at Ṭabas.⁶⁵ The slenderer proportions, the wider spacing of the letters, and the slanting strokes of some of the

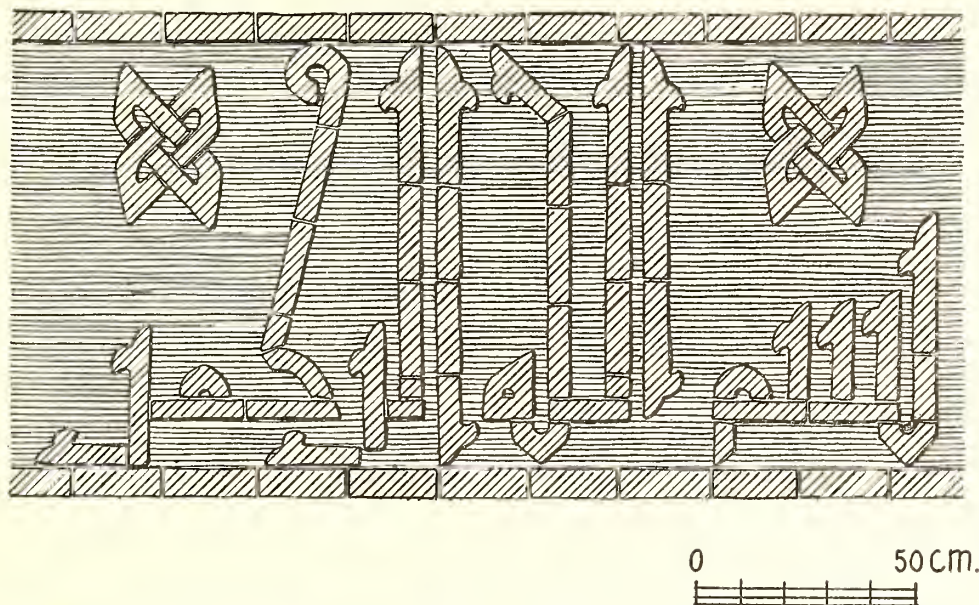


FIG. 14—DETAIL OF AN INSCRIPTION, GUNBAD-I MU'MINA KHĀTŪN, NAKHICHEVAN

uprights are indicative of the fact that the tower of Mu'mina Khātūn is later in date than the minarets at Ṭabas.

11. *Maragha*. The Gunbad-i Kābūd is a tomb tower dated 593 H. (1196 A.D.).⁶⁶ The proportions of the tower are rather heavier and more compressed than those of the contemporary structure of Mu'mina Khātūn, but its exterior surfaces are covered with the same type

⁶⁵ Since the minarets are undated they will be considered in this note rather than in the main text. Ṭabas is a large oasis village about mid-point on the direct desert road connecting Meshed and Yezd. Apparently the minarets are the sole remaining elements of a mosque or madrasa of the Seljuk period. Both shafts are encircled near their tops by damaged inscriptions which have been recorded by Mme Yedda A. Godard. See Y. Godard, "Ṭabas," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Iranian Art and Archaeol.*, V (1937), No. 1, 46-49. The letters of the inscriptions are made up of pieces of light blue faïence (*Fig. 15*). Nearly every letter is built up of a number of small segments. Some of the segments are simple rectangles which may have been cut from larger tiles. The inscriptions are so far above the ground that it is difficult to tell whether the glaze runs over the edges of the

pieces, but many of them were clearly molded into their distinctive shapes. The conspicuous floriated ends of the upright letters show a large number of minor variations; this feature suggests local workmanship, for had some important center of ceramic production been engaged in shipping large quantities of letters to be used in setting up inscriptions in the smaller towns and villages the mass production of the pieces would have tended to make the individual details uniformly alike.

A badly damaged minaret at Ardistan with some fragments of faïence still adhering to it has been compared to the shafts at Ṭabas. See A. Godard, "Ardistān et Zawārē," *Athār-e Īrān*, I (1936), Fasc. 2, 298, footnote 3.

⁶⁶ For a description see A. Godard, "Notes complémentaires sur les tombeaux de Marāgha," 138-43.

of strapwork decoration (*Fig. 16*). Some of these strapwork patterns are entirely carried out in plain terra-cotta strips, while in other sections, such as the spandrels from which the pattern of *Figure 17* is taken, one of the interlacing strands is composed of strips of light blue faïence. Such faïence is also used in the impressive stalactite cornice of the tower; the pieces are in the shape of stars or of rectangles with a single pointed side. These pieces illustrate a new variation in the technical use of faïence: portions of the glaze have been scraped away so that the voids of a pattern are left in the earth-colored body of the fired material. There are inscriptions located at several places on the tower which also have letters of light blue faïence: over

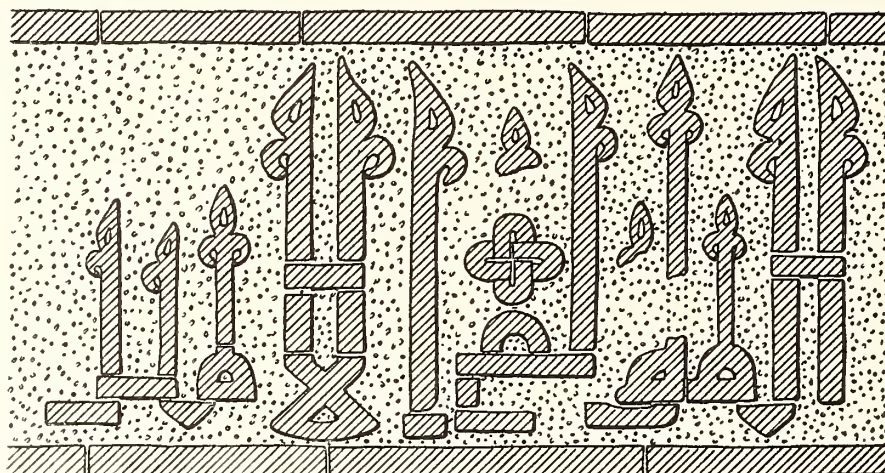


FIG. 15—DETAIL OF AN INSCRIPTION, MINARET, TABAS

the portal, on the intrados of the arch that crowns each wall panel, and encircling the building below the stalactite cornice. Apparently certain of the inscriptions were not built up of small pieces of faïence; instead, large rectangular glazed plaques were made, then a number of letters were incised in outline on the surface of each plaque, and, finally, the areas surrounding the letters were cut back about one-half centimeter so that the colored letters stood out against an earth-colored ground.

Until a time which includes the monuments last discussed the development of mosaic faïence has appeared to be a logical, even if slow, process that has been adequately documented by a number of dated monuments. The next structures in Iran which serve to illustrate the use of faïence are more than fifty years later in date than the ones just considered. This long hiatus is marked by the almost complete absence of architectural monuments of any kind. The powerful sway of the Seljuk rulers had been broken before the end of the twelfth century A.D., and the opening years of the thirteenth may have seen little activity—at any rate few monuments of these years survive. The outstanding historical events of this particular period were, of course, the Mongol invasions and the succeeding relative instability. Successive waves of Mongol warriors reached Iran in 1220 and swept across the entire plateau in the course of a few years. Towns were sacked and fired or flooded, and countless fine buildings

must have been destroyed. Moreover, it almost seems as if in the years following the invasions the erection of new structures was deliberately discouraged for a long time: this may be the most logical explanation for the lack of monuments dated or datable between 1200 and 1270 A.D. The minor arts offer a concrete example of this hiatus in artistic productivity. The ceramic workshops at Kashan seem to have turned out few pieces between the first Mongol invasion and the year 1260 A.D.⁶⁷

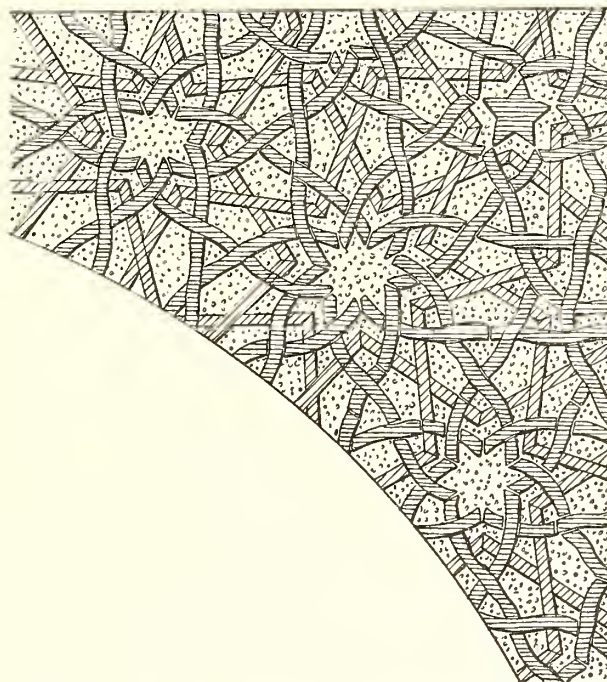


FIG. 17—SPANDREL ORNAMENT, GUNBAD-I KĀBŪD, MARAGHA

Quite in contrast to this striking break in architectural activity in Iran was the contemporary situation in Asia Minor. In the town of Konya still stand several monuments dating between 1220 and 1270 A.D. Several of these monuments, the Madrasa Şirča-li, dated 640 H. (1242 A.D.), the Madrasa K̄ara-Ṭai, dated 649 H. (1251 A.D.), the Laranda mosque, dated 656 H. (1258 A.D.), and the tomb of Fakhr al-Dīn, dated 668 H. (1269 A.D.), have developed mosaic faïence, thus antedating the first appearance of the developed technique in Iran proper by at least fifty years.⁶⁸ It is clearly apparent that the mosaic faïence on these monuments was

⁶⁷ Kashan was devastated by the Mongols in 621 H. (1224 A.D.). Ettinghausen ("Dated Persian Faïence of the Islamic Period," pp. 1667-96) lists the dated pieces produced in the years following the Mongol invasions. Only nine glazed and lustered tiles and four pieces of pottery made between 1220 and 1260 A.D. have survived. There are a large number of pieces dated in the years following 1260.

⁶⁸ For a presentation of the mosaic faïence at Konya see G. Migeon and A. Sakisian, "Les Faïences d'Asie-Mineure du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle. I. La Céramique seldjoukide du XIII^e siècle," *Rev. l'art ancien et moderne*, XLIII (1923), 241-52. Color plates of details from the four monuments listed above are given in F. Sarre, *Konia* (Berlin, 1921), and in A. Raymond, *Vieilles faïences turques* (Karlsruhe, 1921).

directly derived from the strapwork patterns in which plaster was the background material, and in these examples geometrical and epigraphical forms predominate over floral ones.

The early culmination of the mosaic faïence technique at Konya brings up two interesting possibilities: first, that Asia Minor was actually the region where the technique of mosaic faïence developed earliest, either independently of its neighboring countries or with direct influence upon Iran;⁶⁹ second, that both regions had begun the same kind of experiments in the use of faïence at about the same period, but that when activity was cut off in Iran by the Mongols it continued uninterrupted in remote Anatolia. It is true that Konya was never attacked by the Mongols.⁷⁰

Architecture began to revive in Iran only a full generation or life span after the Mongol invasions. Who were then the designers and master builders of the new structures? Possibly they were the children and grandchildren of the earlier practicing artisans who had trained their descendants according to the custom of the period, which was that a single family should engage in the same hereditary occupation through a number of generations.⁷¹ In some rather mysterious way technical skill and feeling for style survived intact over this gap of many years, and a comparison of the structures erected just before the Mongol invasions with the earliest ones built after it furnishes evidence of a consecutive evolution of architectural forms. The situation is as if during a laboratory experiment an organism had been instantly frozen and then kept for a considerable length of time in that state. Then when it finally was allowed to thaw out its renewed activity began, without any apparent break, at exactly the point where it had been broken off. This interesting phenomenon is true not only for the principal features of the general architectural style but for such details as the stages in the development of mosaic faïence.

After the revival of building under the powerful Mongol *Īl-Khāns* of Iran, the most imposing monuments, some of which still stand in good condition and others whose ruins are scarcely identifiable, were erected in the cities which were successively the Mongol capitals, Tabriz and Sulṭānīya. Evidence from three such monuments will be used to reconstruct the

⁶⁹ It is generally believed that the ceramics of Anatolia were, in the general periods under discussion, strongly influenced by Iranian work, but at least there is no convincing evidence for this in the field of architectural faïence. In the *Şirča-li* madrasa at Konya there is an inscription in the faïence which states that it was "made by Muhammad, son of Muhammad, son of Othman, architect of Tūs." This man may have fled from Khurasan to Asia Minor at the time of the Mongol invasions, but he was certainly working in a medium already established in his new home, since a technique demanding special materials and equipment could scarcely be carried over a distance of thousands of miles by one artisan or even by a group of artisans.

⁷⁰ The present article is not the place to discuss the

differences between the developed mosaic faïence of Konya and that of the towns in Iran proper, but it may be said that the patterns are bolder and on a larger scale and the palette of colors becomes large at a much earlier date at Konya than in Iran. For example, while the commonest glazes at Konya are the two blues, black, and white, there is some yellow glaze used in the Madrasa *Ḳara-Ṭai* of 649 H. (1251 A.D.), although it does not appear in Iran until one hundred years after this date. Green is also much more popular at Konya and appears much earlier than in Iran.

⁷¹ In *Orientalische Steinbücher*, pp. 65-68, the members of such a family are traced through several generations.

final stages in the evolution of mosaic faïence. The presentation of this material can, however, properly be preceded by a description of a less important group of dated and undated structures from this region and from other parts of Iran.

12. *Rādkān East, a small village on the direct route between Meshed and the Caspian Sea and about one hundred kilometers from Meshed.* The tomb tower located here is known as the Mīl-i Rādkān. It is one of a class of monuments that are difficult to date on stylistic grounds, since it displays those characteristics and details of architectural style which are the same in the years immediately preceding the Mongol invasions and during the revival of architecture under the Īl-Khān rulers. Thus, in the first serious study made of the tower it was assigned to the opening years of the thirteenth century,⁷² while more recently, and with an argument based on the reading of an inscription, the date 680 H. (1281 A.D.) has been suggested.⁷³ Certainly the tower is not later than this date, and possibly it is as early as 660 H. (1261 A.D.).⁷⁴ Pieces of light blue and dark blue faïence are used on this monument. The inscription encircling the tower below the cornice line has glazed letters set against a ground of molded terra-cotta plaques (*Fig. 18*). The scale of the inscription is so large that each of the several pieces of light blue faïence necessary for a single letter is in itself a fairly large tile. At the very top of the inscription band, above the ends of the long-stemmed letters, were molded pieces of light blue faïence. Smaller insets of dark blue faïence occur near the head of each of the engaged colonnettes of the tower. At a lower point on the tower face a diamond-shaped recess in each colonnette shows the original position of faïence plaques which have now disappeared.⁷⁵

At Kishmar, a village in Khurasan situated some forty kilometers west of the town of Turbat-i-Haidari, a tomb tower, so remotely located that it has seldom been visited,⁷⁶ has very close structural and decorative affinities with the Mīl-i Rādkān at Rādkān East. There is the same twelve-sided base, the two portals on opposite sides of the structure, the engaged colonnettes applied to the core of the tower, and the conical roof. Probably it is a few years later in date than the monument at Rādkān East, since the brick patterns of the colonnettes are considerably more elaborate and have raked joints in contrast to the flush joints of the Mīl-i Rādkān. Both light blue and dark blue faïence pieces are used as insets at the focal points of the cross-and-lozenge brick patterns on the engaged colonnettes. Two grooves or troughs in the masonry core encircle the tower; from the evidence given by plaster adhering to their

⁷² M. van Berchem in E. Diez, *Churasanische Bau-denkmäler* (Berlin, 1918), pp. 107-9.

⁷³ Herzfeld in Smith and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁷⁴ In the inscription encircling the tower the six of the hundreds is still preserved. The space which the missing tens occupied is quite narrow. The missing word might equally well be sixty (ستين) or eighty (ثمانين).

⁷⁵ Certain accounts of the tower speak of fragments of white faïence, of pieces of molded faïence in various

colors, and of pieces with luster glaze. E. O'Donovan, *The Merv Oasis* (London, 1882), II, 22-23, is the main such source. Many features of the description of the architectural features of the tower as given by O'Donovan are inaccurate, and a careful examination of the monument and the surrounding area made in November, 1937, failed to reveal any kinds of faïence except those listed in the above text.

⁷⁶ The most complete description of the tower is in Diez, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

surfaces it seems probable that they were originally filled with inscription bands made up of plaques of faïence set in plaster in a manner quite similar to that employed in the construction of the inscription at Rādkān East.

The towers at Rādkān East and at Kishmar furnish rather unimpressive examples of the use of architectural faïence. It is true that more than a single color is used, but the unimpressiveness lies in the rather haphazard use of faïence insets upon the body of the structure instead of a further and consistent step in advance of the calculated use of faïence exemplified by the tower of Mu'mina Khātūn and the Gunbad-i Kābūd.⁷⁷

13. *Varāmīn*. The tomb tower of 'Alā' al-Dīn is dated 688 H. (1289 A.D.).⁷⁸ Decoration of the structure is concentrated in an inscription band and in triangular fields, both located just below the base of the conical roof (*Fig. 19*). Two kinds of pattern are used: in the background of the inscription flush panels of hexagons separated by interstitial pieces, and in the triangular fields raised strapwork decoration. The two types of material are plain fired terracotta pieces and strips of light blue faïence. The manner in which the triangular fields are treated recalls the decoration of the Gunbad-i Kābūd at Maragha, nearly one hundred years earlier in date.

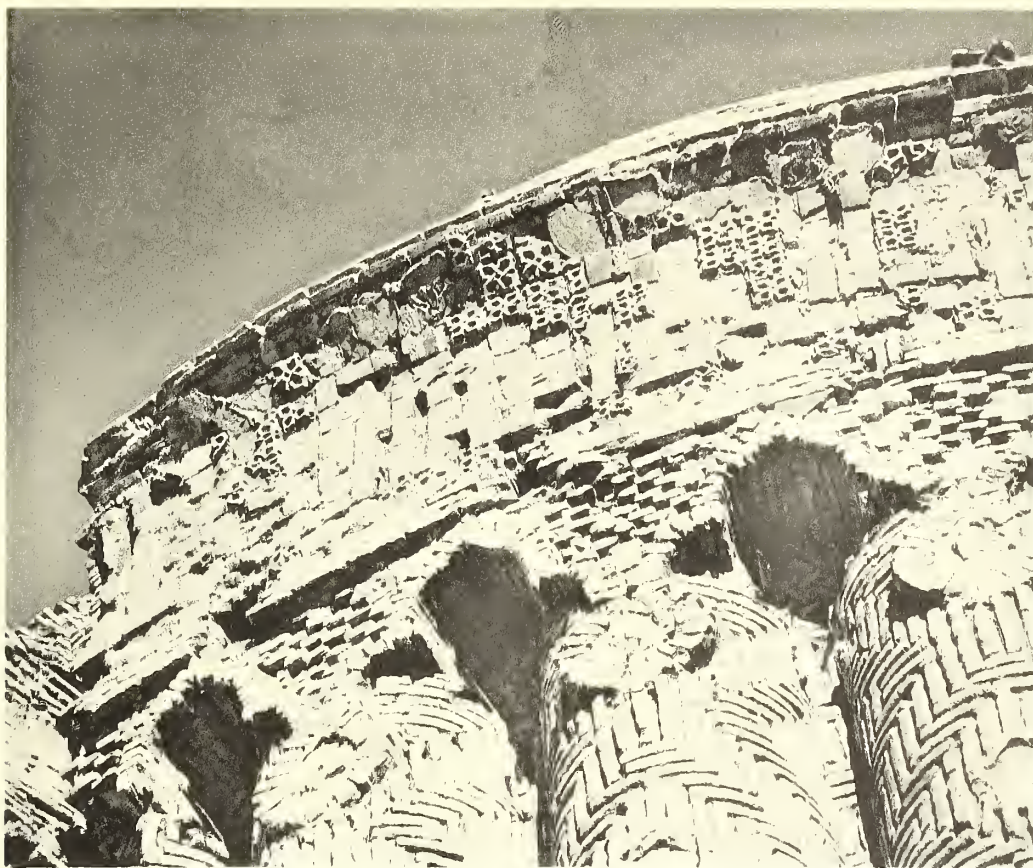
14. *Shām*. Ghāzān Khan, the seventh of the Mongol Īl-Khāns and the first to rule in the new capital city of Tabriz, was not satisfied with the magnificence of the existing city, and he erected a new and famous suburb called *Shām* situated outside and to the south of Tabriz. A structure intended for his mausoleum formed the central element of a group of splendid buildings: a college, a hospital, a library, and a spacious garden with a great fountain. Contemporary accounts state that the suburb excelled anything created by the Sasanians or by the Seljuk kings, and fortunately a somewhat fanciful picture of the mausoleum is preserved in a manuscript of the period.⁷⁹ Upon the death of Ghāzān Khan in 703 H. (1304 A.D.) he was

⁷⁷ In the region of Azerbaijan are several other monuments on which architectural faïence was used. Since they are not only undated by inscriptions but have never been studied in detail they are mentioned in this note rather than in the text. Probably they all date between 1270 and about 1310 A.D. At Ardebil, the Masjd-i Djamī: The principal element of the plan is a square dome chamber. The dome which crowned it is now badly ruined. On the exterior surface of its drum are scattered insets of light blue faïence. At the so-called caravanserai of Hūlāgū, situated between Marand and Djulfa, pieces of light blue, dark blue, and white faïence are used. Strands of geometrical strapwork patterns are executed in faïence, rising joints of the brick courses are filled with thin strips of dark blue faïence, and the surfaces of stalactite forms are clad in patterns made up of plain terra-cotta and faïence pieces. At Salmās the tomb tower has the typical strapwork pattern of the later Maragha towers, but with a restricted use of blue faïence

in the pattern strands. At Khāiv, a large tomb tower: The decorative frame around the portal shows a fully developed use of faïence; the colors are light blue, dark blue, black, and white. This monument may well be later in date than 1310 A.D.

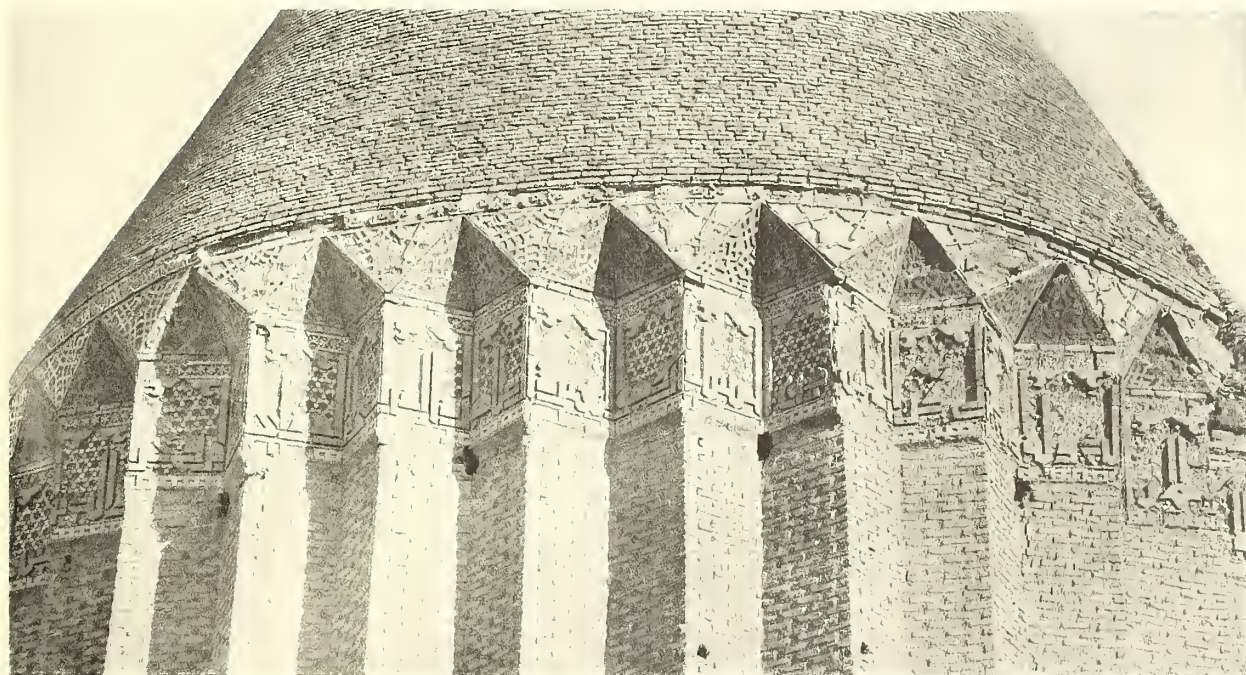
⁷⁸ The inscription which gives the date of the tower is translated by F. Bazl, in *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York, 1939), II, 1050, footnote 2.

⁷⁹ The illustration is given in E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1914-20), Pl. XX. In the text of the history of Rashīd al-Dīn of which this picture is an illustration the monument is named "The Gates of Piety." An inscription in Arabic on the tower at the right of the picture calls for blessings on Sultan Mahmud Ghāzān. The monument as illustrated resembles a madrasa or even a caravanserai built around three sides of a large open court and augmented by adjoining structures. Probably one of the towerlike elements in the picture was



PHOTOGRAPH: S. NYMAN

FIG. 18—CORNICE OF TOMB TOWER, RĀDKĀN EAST, KHURASAN



PHOTOGRAPH: A. U. POPE

FIG. 19—UPPER PART, TOMB TOWER OF 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN, VARĀMĪN

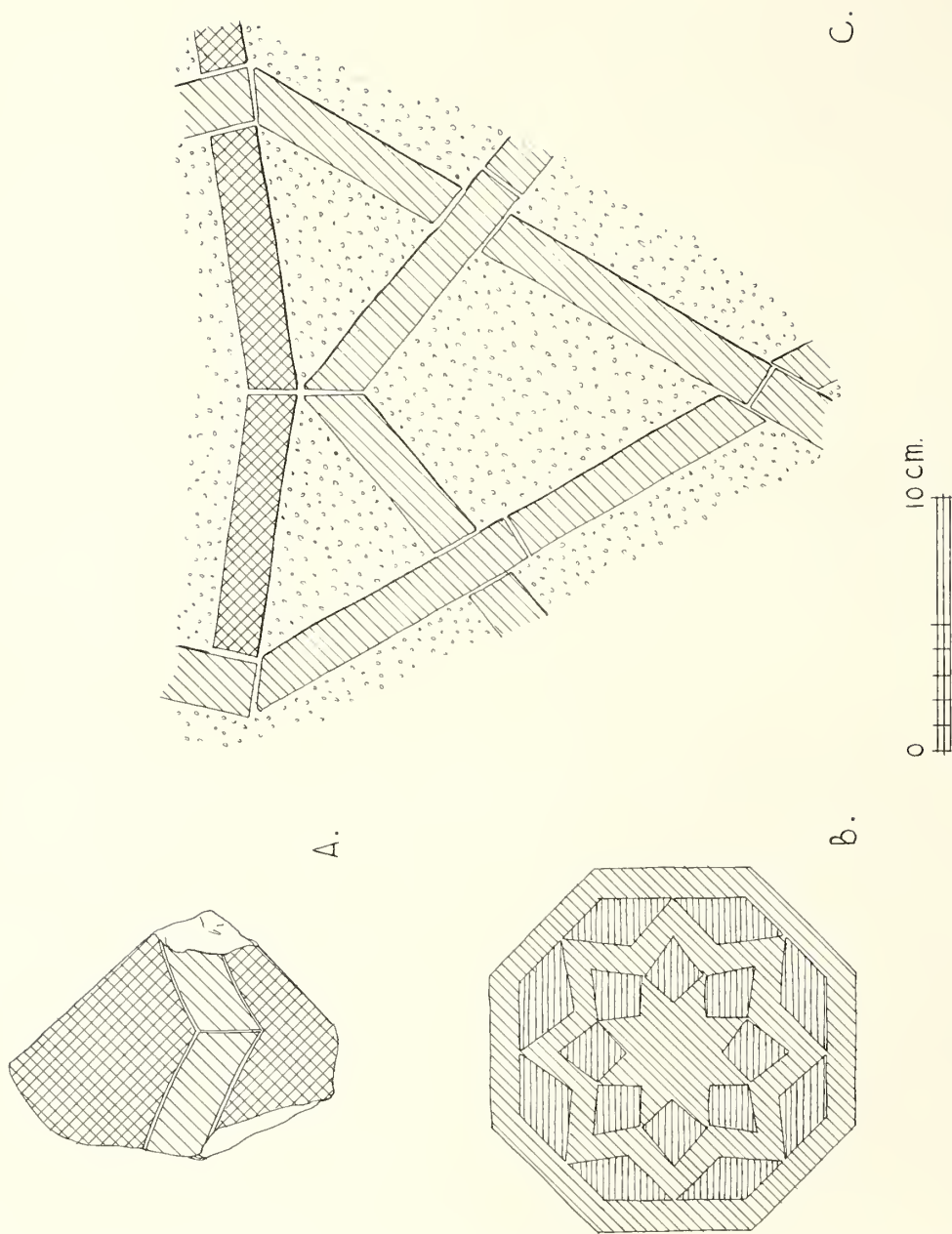
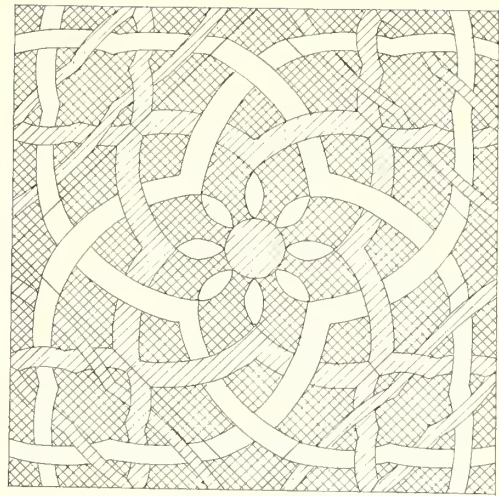


FIG. 20—FAÏENCE FRAGMENTS FROM THE SHĀM GHĀZĀN AND KAB'Ī RASHĪDĪ, TABRIZ



PHOTOGRAPH: A. U. POPE

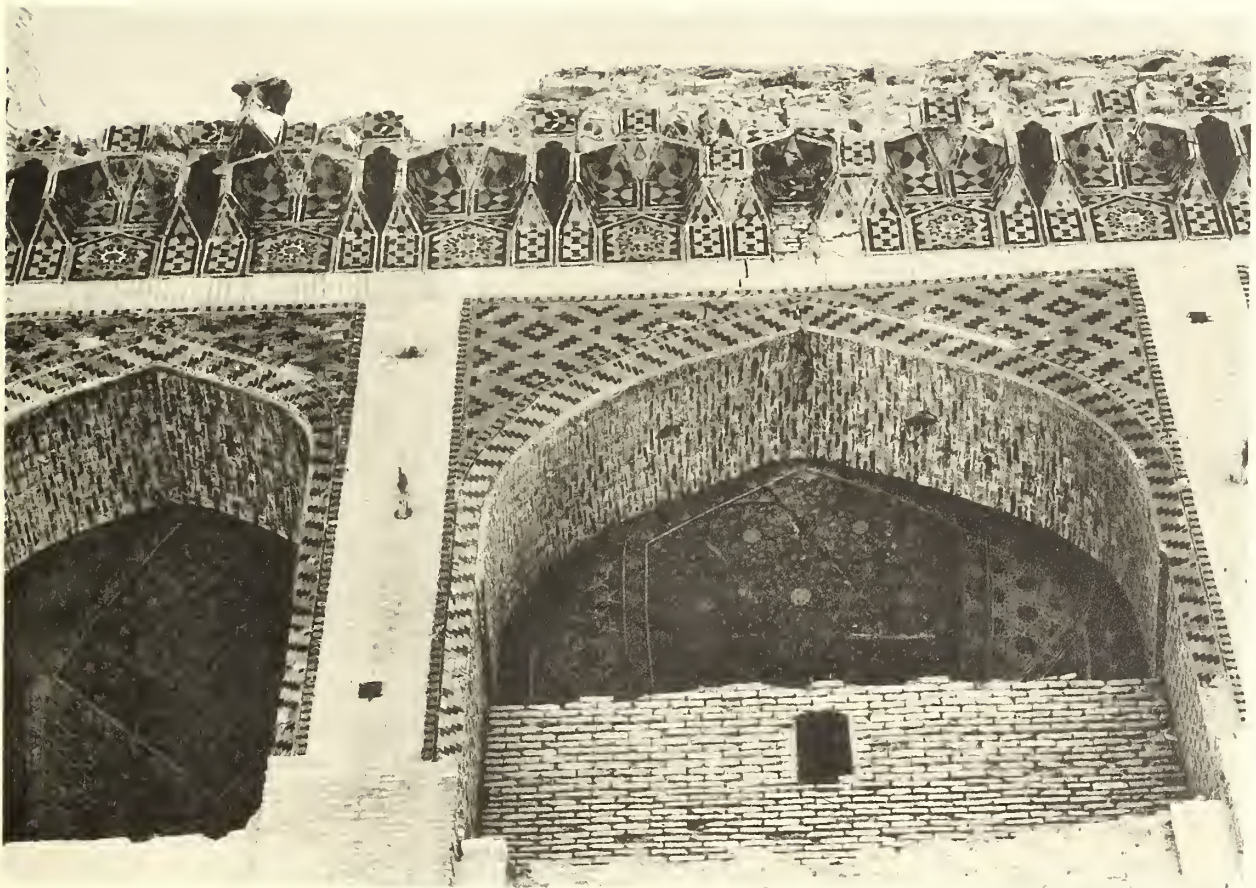
FIG. 21—ANGLE COLONNETTE, INTERIOR, MAUSOLEUM OF OLÇAITU, SULTĀNĪYA



0 5 cm.

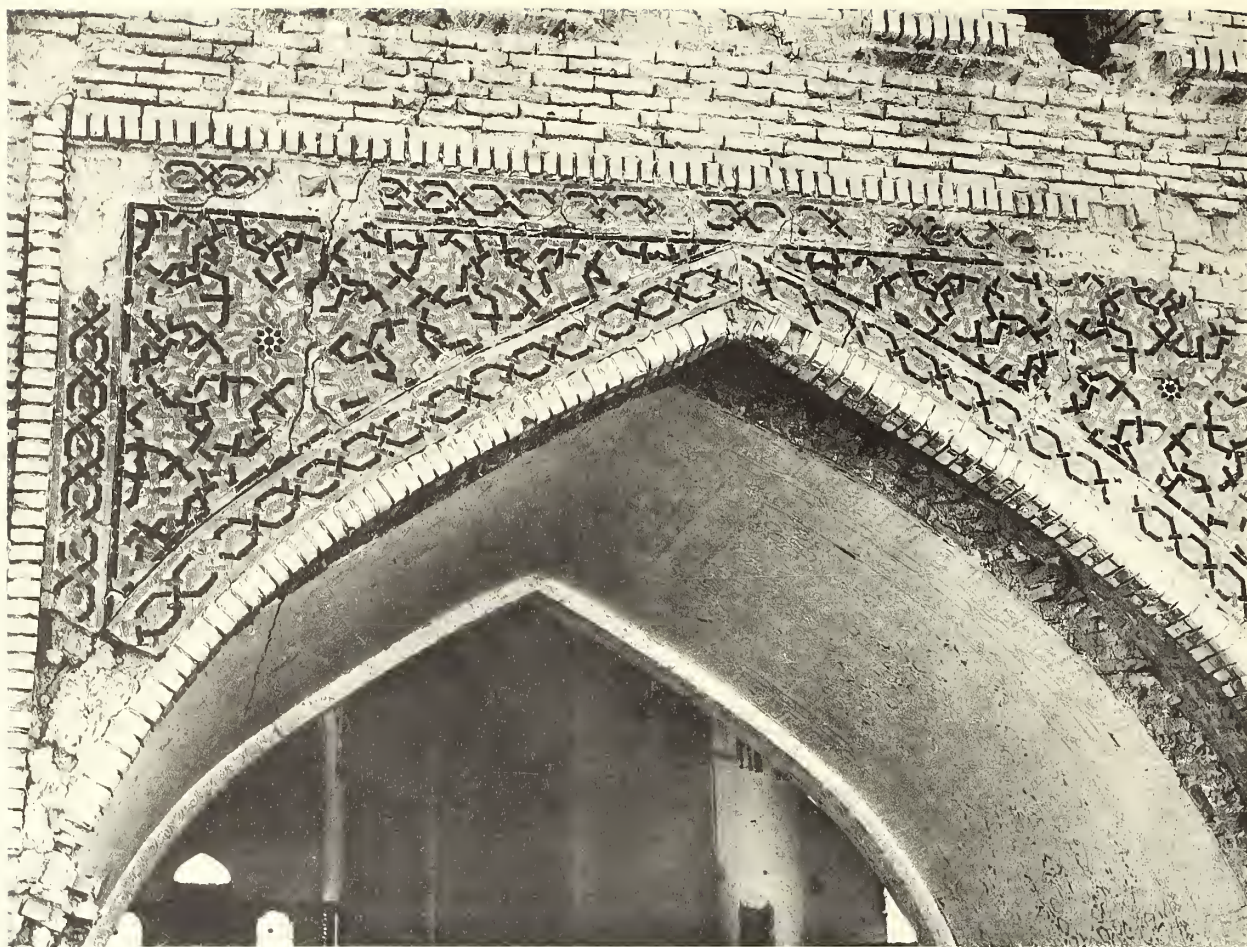
FROM SARRE

FIG. 22—CAPITAL OF ANGLE COLONNETTE
MAUSOLEUM OF OLÇAITU, SULTĀNĪYA



PHOTOGRAPH: A. U. POPE

FIG. 25—CORNICE AREA, MAUSOLEUM OF OLÇAITU, SULTĀNĪYA



PHOTOGRAPH: A. U. POPE

FIG. 23—SPANDREL OF WEST ENTRANCE, MAUSOLEUM OF OLČAITU, SULTĀNĪYA

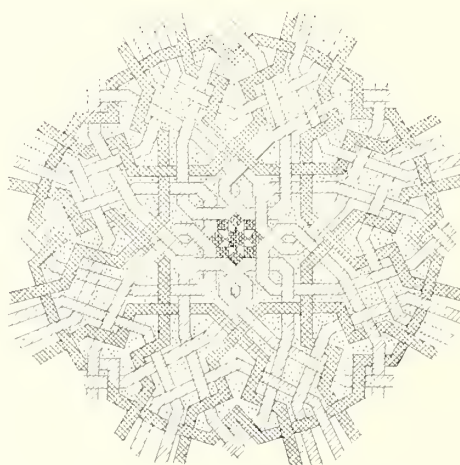


FIG. 24—SPANDREL PATTERN, MAUSOLEUM
OF OLČAITU, SULTĀNĪYA

placed in his tomb according to plan. From the contemporary descriptions it is known that it was a lofty twelve-sided structure, and it is possible that it served as an inspiration and prototype for the splendid monument erected a few years later in the near-by city of Sultānīya. Today only crumbling walls and mounds of broken brick remain, but fragments of faïence can be picked up at the site, and since it is known that the suburb was not rebuilt after the Mongol period these fragments show how faïence was used on the mausoleum and its adjacent structures. First of all, several different colors of glaze have been found: dark blue, light blue, black, and white.⁸⁰ Large bricks covered with a dark blue glaze which were probably from the roof of a building⁸¹ and fired terra-cotta pieces into which smaller pieces of black faïence had been inserted were unearthed. Masses of plaster were also discovered into which had been set strips of fired terra cotta 5 millimeters deep and strips of faïence 15 millimeters deep, a technique again reminiscent of the tower of Mu'mina *Khātūn*. Most important was a fragment which consisted of a rectilinear pattern made up of adjacent strips of dark blue and light blue faïence (*Fig. 20 A*). With this particular example the threshold of complete mosaic faïence has been reached. It is at least probable that complete mosaic faïence was used somewhere on the tomb of *Ghāzān Khan*, but the evidence remains too incomplete to permit a definite statement.

15. *The Rab'-i Rashīdī*. Tabriz was further enhanced in size and splendor by the erection, about the year 700 H. (1300 A.D.), of another suburb. This was the "quarter of *Rashīd*" named after its founder *Rashīd al-Dīn*, the renowned vizier of *Olčjaitu* (*Üldjaitū*), the Mongol ruler who succeeded *Ghāzān Khan*. This quarter really consisted in a separate town located a few kilometers east of Tabriz and intended to house only scholars, physicians, artists, and artisans. The great care that *Rashīd* lavished in planning the model town was almost wasted, for when he died in 1318 A.D. the suburb was given over to plunder, and then later the death of his son *Ghiyāth al-Dīn* in 1336 A.D. was a signal for further looting at the site. At the present time it is clearly distinguishable, being marked by a line of walls along which are the ruins of occasional round towers and by a number of badly ruined buildings. All these remains spread over a few low hills rising above an orchard-clad plain. Fragments of faïence are plentiful in the ruins, but those collected can be used as evidence only with caution and discrimination, since it is known that the site was reoccupied in Safawid times during the reign of *Shah Abbas*.⁸² Once this situation is realized it is easy to eliminate the pieces of mosaic faïence of

intended to represent the actual tomb. Manuscripts executed from the thirteenth century A.D. on furnish pictures of cities and of mosques and even of buildings in the process of construction. They reflect in their minute details the ornament of the period and suggest an interesting study—a comparison of the details of dated buildings with the details of buildings in the miniatures.

⁸⁰ The fragments described were assembled with the kind assistance of J. Christy Wilson of Tabriz, in October, 1936. Earlier observations had been made at the site;

see J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane* (Paris, 1887), p. 60.

⁸¹ For the account of a monastery with a dome covered with green tiles built at Maragha during the reign of *Ghāzān Khan* see page 24.

⁸² This information comes from J. Chardin, *Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin, en Perse et autre lieux de l'Orient* (Amsterdam, 1711), I, 184.

It is possible that a certain amount of construction work was done at the *Rab'-i Rashīdī* after the death of

the Safawid period, both because of a more extensive range of colors, including the typical yellow, and because of the unmistakable signs of late workmanship. Several varieties of the Mongol architecture faïence can be distinguished. One type recalls the wall decoration of the tower of Mu'mina Khātūn, for it is composed of narrow strips set into an incised plaster ground, but the technique is much more advanced, since in this example all the strips are of faïence, instead of any being of the plain fired terra cotta. In this fragment one strand of the pattern is dark blue faïence while all the other strands are pieces of light blue glaze (*Fig. 20 C*). There are similar fragments with different patterns and different colors; some of these combine strips of black faïence and strips of light blue. In another variety, represented by several examples, parts of the glazed surface are scraped away to produce an earth-colored ground. This technique was previously noted on the Gunbad-i Kābūd, but in the present case the examples are fragments of octagonal tiles rather than portions of inscription plaques (*Fig. 20 B*). The colors of the glazes noted on the fragments from the Rab'-i Rashīdī include dark blue, light blue, and black.

16. *The mausoleum of Olčaitu at Sultāniya.* The fragments from Shām and the Rab'-i Rashīdī are additional indication in support of the theory that the development of mosaic faïence in Iran was resumed at practically the point where it had been broken off by the Mongol invasions. These fragments also help to set the stage for the extensive use of the material on the mausoleum of Olčaitu. The main feature of the new capital city which Olčaitu erected at Sultāniya in accordance with the desire and plans of his father, Arghūn Khān, was his own mausoleum. This tremendous structure, begun in 1310 A.D., was rushed to completion within a few years, and even in its present battered state it is one of the most imposing architectural monuments in existence.⁸³ The great size of the proposed structure undoubtedly made necessary the assembling of numbers of the very best workmen from all over the country, and it is natural that such a situation should have had an enormous effect upon the progress of architectural style. The craftsmen exchanged technical knowledge and then, upon the completion of the building, returned to their homes in the far-off corners of the country to put their new ideas into practice. At the same time it may be an exaggeration to see in this one monument the expression of a decided break with the structures and style that preceded it,⁸⁴ for not only does the essential part or scheme of the building follow the prototype form of a long series of structures with dome chambers and side galleries, among which are the tomb of Ismail the Samanid, the square structure at Sangbast, and the mausoleum of Sultan Sandjar at Merv, but the glowing faïence which decorates the monument is merely the culmination of a development which has been followed step by step over a period of two hundred years.

Rashīd al-Dīn and as late as 752 H. (1351 A.D.): see D. N. Wilber and M. Minovi, "Notes on the Rab'-i Rashīdī," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Iranian Art and Archaeol.*, VI (1938), 252-53.

⁸³ For a detailed account of the mausoleum see A. Godard, "The Mausoleum of Öljeitü at Sultāniya," *A*

Survey of Persian Art (London-New York, 1939), II, 1103-18.

⁸⁴ The influence of the mausoleum upon contemporary architecture is discussed by A. Godard, "Naṭanz," *Athār-e Īrān*, I (1936), Fasc. 1, 100.

In most of the monuments previously described the use of architectural faïence has been confined to the exteriors of the structures, but at the mausoleum of Olčaitu faïence is also employed extensively on the interior surfaces. Practically all the interior faïence is now concealed from sight by a thick coating of plaster which is believed to have been added shortly after the building was completed.⁸⁵ Where areas of the plaster have fallen away it can be observed that the lowest part of the original decoration of the great chamber consisted of a dado nearly 3 meters high. Its surface was composed of geometrical patterns formed of strips of dark blue, light blue, and white faïence, with the areas between the strips filled with stucco in which were incised designs. The technique once more recalls that of the tower of Mu'mina Khātūn. At each corner of the chamber the change in the direction of the dado is marked by the use of an engaged angle colonnette⁸⁶ (*Figs. 21 and 22*). These colonnettes are done in "complete mosaic faïence" and are the first dated examples of the culmination of the technique to be noted in Iran, although, as has already been said, it is highly probable that the developed technique had been used both in Shām and the Rab'-i Rashīdī. The bases, shafts, and capitals of the colonnettes are all of mosaic faïence in fairly simple geometrical patterns, the separate elements of which are pieces of dark blue, light blue, and white faïence. As the illustration shows, the gaps between adjacent pieces are as small as a most careful fitting together of the elements would permit.

At first sight the exterior of the mausoleum at Sultānīya appears to be ablaze with colored faïence, but actually the use of the material is restricted to definite areas, most of which are near the upper part of the structure.⁸⁷ However, above both the north and west entrances to the dome chamber there are spandrels with geometrical patterns formed by thin strips of faïence. The pattern and technique are, as Figures 23 and 24 show, reminiscent of the Gunbad-i Kābūd at Maragha and the tower of 'Alā' al-Dīn at Varāmīn, except that here all the strands of the pattern are of faïence. The small background areas are of stucco except at the center of each spandrel, where pieces of black, light blue, and white faïence are combined to form a small section of "complete mosaic faïence." The great stalactite cornice which encircles and crowns the main mass of the mausoleum also has areas of mosaic faïence (*Fig. 25*). Pieces of dark blue, light blue, and white faïence are used as a solid background surface of the individual stalactites. Finally, the dome itself is clad in a revetment of large bricks coated with light blue glaze.

With the mausoleum of Olčaitu the technique of mosaic faïence had arrived at maturity. Associated with the new mastery of the medium came a full awareness of its possibilities—

⁸⁵ Olčaitu had planned the structure as a repository for the remains of the Shīah martyrs. When this plan fell through the interior of the building was redecorated and prepared for use as his own tomb. See D. Wilber, "The Institute's Survey of Persian Architecture," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Iranian Art and Archaeol.*, V (1937), No. 2, 113.

⁸⁶ There is an unnumbered color plate of one of these

colonnettes in Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*.

⁸⁷ Accounts nearly contemporary with the erection of the mausoleum are so worded as to suggest that there were buildings immediately adjacent to the great monument. Hence it is probable that the lower walls were not coated with faïence because they were largely concealed from sight.

that mosaic faïence could be used in an unlimited variety of patterns, on surfaces of any shape and contour, and on interiors equally as well as on exteriors. The first structures to be completely sheathed in multicolored faïence were erected during the opening years of the fifteenth century, but these added no essential innovations to the technique as employed at Sultāniya. One by one a larger number of colors were introduced into the mosaic faïence palette, and it is not easy to say at exactly what date such colors as green, brown, and yellow first appeared. The greater number of colors, together with more elaborate and intricate patterns, characterize the innumerable faïence-coated structures of the Timurid and Safawid periods. Yet even during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the finest mosaic faïence was being executed, an inevitable decline in technique had set in. It stemmed directly from a reaction against the vast amount of time required to produce large panels of mosaic faïence,⁸⁸ and resulted in the eventual abandonment of the medium. For it is clearly apparent that while open or strapwork patterns composed of strips of faïence, the early stage in the development of mosaic faïence, can be easily and quickly set into plaster, the task of supplying a complete sheathing of mosaic faïence for a building requires endless pains, since each small individual unit must be cut out and fitted together with many others on the ground before it can finally be put into place on the structure.⁸⁹

The mausoleum of Olčaitu is the last monument on which the use of mosaic faïence will be described, since once the existence of "complete mosaic faïence" has been established there is no reason to cite additional examples of the developed technique. Structures a few years later in date than the great mausoleum show faïence decoration directly influenced by it. At the same time it must be admitted that the full force of the influence of the great mausoleum was not assimilated into the main current of architecture for a number of years, since it could be shown that most of the structures erected in the years just following its completion used "complete mosaic faïence" rather sparingly. Voids in the faïence patterns through which plas-

⁸⁸ A large crew of skilled workmen recently spent over two years in merely repairing limited sections of damaged mosaic faïence in the shrine at Ardebil.

⁸⁹ A detailed and valuable account of the manner in which mosaic faïence is made at the present day in Iran is given by F. Bazl, "Contemporary Techniques," *A Survey of Persian Art*, II, p. 1706. Illustrations of craftsmen engaged in making mosaic-faïence panels are given in the same publication, Vol. V, Pl. 546, *A* and *B*. The eventual solution by means of which the vast amount of work involved in the production of mosaic faïence was avoided was the use of *haft rangī* ("polychromatic" or "seven-color") tiles. In this technique patterns are drawn on the surfaces of large flat tiles. The outlines of the separate areas of the pattern are then painted with a manganese solution, and the appropriate colors are placed within each area. The tile with its coating of several

different colors is fired in a single operation, the manganese outlines preventing the adjacent colors from spreading into each other until the firing is completed. Then a number of these tiles with corresponding patterns are embedded in plaster on the face of the structure to be decorated. Although this process did not displace the much more beautiful mosaic faïence until the early seventeenth century, when it became the characteristic feature of the Safawid monuments of Isfahan, it made its first appearance in architecture at a comparatively early date. In the Blue Mosque at Tabriz, dated 865 H. (1460 A.D.), which is often cited as one of the very finest examples of the use of mosaic faïence, there are a few pieces of *haft rangī*—notably at the bases of the rope molding which runs up and over the entrance *iwān* of the mosque.

ter of the earth color of the fired terra cotta can be seen were common on well-known structures at Naṭanz, Yezd, and Varāmīn, all of which are a few years later in date than the mausoleum of Olčaitu.⁹⁰

After the death of the Mongol ruler Abū Sa'īd at Sulṭānīya in 737 H. (1336 A.D.) the Mongol authority in Iran fell into rapid dissolution. During the remainder of the fourteenth century Iran was in the weak grasp of a number of local dynasties. Buildings from this period which exhibit the use of mosaic faïence are rare, because very few of the structures built at this time remain standing. However, at the climax of the succeeding Timurid period the brilliant mosaic faïence at the madrasa at Khargird, at the mosque of Gawhar Shād at Meshed, and on the structures at Herat offers eloquent proof that the mausoleum of Olčaitu and contemporary structures had a profound and lasting influence and were directly responsible for the most striking manifestations of the use of color in the entire history of Iranian architecture.

⁹⁰ Some of the structures which illustrate either the same kind of technical progress or show the direct influence of the mausoleum of Olčaitu are listed here. At Pīr Bakrān, a few miles from Isfahan, there is a structure dated 703-12 H. (1303-12 A.D.): Here star and cross tiles, one shape with a light blue glaze and the other with dark blue, are used for decoration on wall surfaces and on the soffits of arches. At Naṭanz the portal of a destroyed Khānaqāh adjacent to the Masdjīd-i Djāmi' is dated 716 H. (1316 A.D.): In nearly every area where faïence has been used the plain fired terra-cotta ground is visible between the faïence letters or faïence pattern strips. At Bistām, complete mosaic faïence is found on

the portal façade and in the passageway behind it of the entrance portal to the shrine ensemble, which is dated about 713 H. (1313 A.D.). At Yezd the mausoleum of Shams al-Dīn is dated 767 H. (1365 A.D.): The side walls of the principal īwān have isolated small areas of mosaic faïence. At Varāmīn the Masdjīd-i Djāmi' was constructed in 722 H. (1322 A.D.): A typical example of the use of faïence in this monument occurs in the inscriptions, in which the letters themselves are of fired terra cotta, the principal background is of dark blue glaze, and the floral scroll runs through the background of light blue faïence pieces.

CARAVANSÉRAILS SYRIENS DU MOYEN-ÂGE

PAR JEAN SAUVAGET

L'ÉTUDE DES CARAVANSÉRAILS¹ A ÉTÉ JUSQU'ICI FORT NÉGLIGÉE. DISSÉMINÉS DANS LA CAMPAGNE loin des centres urbains, presque toujours abandonnés et réduits à l'état de dépôt d'immondices, généralement d'une facture sommaire, ces édifices n'offraient en effet aux archéologues ni les facilités d'accès et de travail, ni les satisfactions que leur réservaient les grandes œuvres de l'architecture islamique: mosquées, médresés ou palais. De ce fait, notre information sur ce sujet est très limitée et d'une valeur inégale, impropre à servir utilement de base aux comparaisons que l'on aimerait faire.²

Il y a là, me semble-t-il, une lacune regrettable. Le caravansérail apparaît (dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, tout au moins) comme une institution spécifiquement islamique, dont il faudrait préciser l'origine et l'évolution. D'autre part, on sait quel rôle de premier plan les caravanes ont joué dans la vie économique de l'Orient; les bâtiments destinés à les abriter, s'ils sont d'un faible intérêt pour l'historien de l'art, apportent des indications extrêmement précieuses à l'histoire proprement dite: ils jalonnent avec précision les routes commerciales suivies à une époque déterminée,³ et leur agencement renseigne sur l'importance et les modalités du trafic; enfin les types monumentaux mis en œuvre ne sont pas en eux-mêmes indignes d'attention.

C'est pourquoi il m'a paru utile de faire connaître un certain nombre de caravansérails du Moyen-Âge—une trentaine—qu'une exploration méthodique des routes syriennes⁴ m'a permis d'étudier en détail. Tous sont inédits.⁵ Je les présenterai suivant l'ordre chronologique.⁶

¹ Nous entendons ici par "caravansérails" les *khāns* routiers, échelonnés le long des routes: ceux qui servent à proprement parler au "logement des caravanes." Les *khāns* urbains (auxquels nous réserverons la dénomination de "*khān*" pour éviter des confusions) ont un rôle tout autre, qui leur a imposé une disposition très différente: nous les laissons entièrement de côté.

² K. Müller, *Die Karawanserei im Vorderen Orient* (Vienne, 1923), s'appuie exclusivement sur des caravansérails anatoliens du treizième siècle, persans du seizième siècle, irakiens du dix-neuvième siècle: à quoi servirait un rapprochement entre des documents aussi disparates?

³ Mieux que les itinéraires des voyageurs, qui peuvent avoir été influencés par des circonstances fortuites.

⁴ Faite en vue d'une publication sur la poste aux chevaux de l'empire mamelouk que j'ai déjà annoncée et

que je compte présenter à très bref délai. Certains des bâtiments décrits ici ont été utilisés par le *barīd* dans des conditions que je préciserai, mais ils n'ont pas été construits spécialement à cet effet; je réserve la description des relais de poste proprement dits, dont j'ai retrouvé plusieurs exemples, car ils sont dépourvus de rapport avec le trafic caravanier.

⁵ Quelques-uns ont été signalés par des voyageurs, ou même décrits sommairement, mais aucun d'eux n'avait fait l'objet d'un relevé archéologique, seule base véritable d'une étude fructueuse.

⁶ Je laisse de côté les caravansérails ottomans, dont j'ai fait connaître ici même ("Les Caravansérails syriens du *Ḥadjī* de Constantinople," *Ars Islamica*, IV [1937], 98-121) quelques exemples caractéristiques.

I. CARAVANSÉRAILS AYYŪBIDES

(env. 1125–1260 A.D.)

1. EL-ḲṬAIFÉ⁷*Caravansérail à la lisière nord-est de l'agglomération⁸*

Construction rectangulaire (*Fig. 2*) de 58m × 35m, à cour centrale (*Figs. 10 et 11*). Sur trois faces de celles-ci règne une galerie voûtée en berceau, accessible par de grandes baies; le long de la façade, deux longues salles, pourvues chacune d'une étroite porte rectangulaire, et deux petites pièces, situées de part et d'autre du couloir d'entrée, donnant accès à deux tours étroites en saillie sur le mur d'enceinte et percées de meurtrières interdisant l'approche de la porte.

Un autre corps de bâtiment, offrant l'aspect d'une tour, forme de même saillie sur la façade postérieure de l'édifice mais la direction donnée à sa meurtrière ne permet guère d'y reconnaître un organe de défense: comme dans d'autres bâtiments du même ordre,⁹ ce sont sans doute les latrines, qu'on a voulu isoler de la sorte. Une rigole d'irrigation (*Figs. 12 et 13*) qui traverse le caravansérail assure son alimentation en eau.

Les chaînes d'angles, l'encadrement des baies, les tours (*Fig. 9*) et la partie de la façade qu'elles encadrent sont bâtis en grand appareil.¹⁰ Tout le reste de la maçonnerie est fait, entre deux parements de petit appareil (*Figs. 8 et 11*), d'un blocage de moellons où des lits de terre sont disposés d'une manière régulière (*Fig. 14*): particularité que je n'ai relevée dans aucun autre monument syrien.

Les caractères de l'appareillage et le type des meurtrières permettent d'attribuer à coup sûr la construction à la seconde moitié du douzième siècle, ou aux toutes premières années du siècle suivant. D'autre part le monument est actuellement connu sous la dénomination de *Ḳhān al-Shahīd* "le caravansérail du Martyr," où l'on retrouve le souvenir du "martyr" syrien par excellence: l'atābeg Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd fils de Zangī, le fameux adversaire des Croisés (mort en 1174 A.D.). Or, nous savons qu'à la fin du quinzième siècle le village d'el-Ḳṭaifé était précisément constitué waḳf au profit de l'hôpital fondé à Damas par ce même personnage.¹¹ La construction du caravansérail d'el-Ḳṭaifé semble donc bien pouvoir être attribuée à Nūr al-Dīn avec quelque vraisemblance; elle se place, en tous cas, dans la seconde moitié du douzième siècle.

⁷ R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), s. *Qouteifé*.

⁸ Signalé par F. F. von Troilo, *Orientalistische Reise-Beschreibung* (Dresden, 1676), p. 594; l'autre caravansérail que renferme le village, celui des pèlerins de la Mecque, a été décrit précédemment dans mon article, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ss.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 111 (N° 6) et 118; *Mélanges Gaudefroy-*

Demombynes (Le Caire, 1935), p. 44.

¹⁰ Les remplois de matériaux antiques y abondent, notamment en façade où l'on remarque, sur les deux tours et au dessus de la porte, trois "tabulae ansatae" anépigraphes, disposées avec un souci évident de la symétrie et dans une intention décorative.

¹¹ H. Devonshire, "Voyage du Sultan Kaitbay," *Bull. inst. français archéol. orient.*, XX (1920), 23.

2. EL-ḲOṢAIR¹²

Situé à proximité immédiate du hameau, le caravansérail a été récemment transformé en asile d'aliénés.

Bâtiment carré (*Fig. 3*), d'une quarantaine de mètres de côté, à cour centrale et galerie périphérique voûtée qu'interrompent, suivant l'axe principal, le couloir d'entrée et un *iwān*, devant lequel jaillit une source.

La porte, que couronne un arc brisé, s'ouvre sous un défoncement de la façade; sur ce dernier est bandé un second arc, concentrique au premier, dans lequel est ménagée une fente verticale servant de mâchicoulis.¹³ Ce détail conduit à restituer au dessus de l'entrée, bien qu'il n'ait pas laissé de traces, un corps de bâtiment servant à la défense rapprochée de la porte (cf. N° 3). L'escalier qui desservait cet étage est conservé dans la partie de la galerie accolée à la façade.¹⁴

Les procédés de construction et de défense (appareillage à deux hauteurs d'assises, type archaïque du mâchicoulis) permettent d'attribuer sans hésitation l'édifice à la seconde moitié du douzième siècle; la comparaison avec un autre caravansérail de la région, que date une inscription (N° 3), en mettant en évidence les rapports très étroits qui lient ces deux monuments, confirme pleinement cette attribution.

Un caravansérail existait en ce point dès 1135 A.D.¹⁵ Il est possible que ce soit celui-là même qui s'est conservé jusqu'à nos jours, mais les monuments syriens de cette époque sont si rares, et si peu explicites dans leur état actuel, qu'il est difficile de se montrer catégorique. Par contre je crois pouvoir affirmer que l'édifice décrit ci-dessus est bien "le grand caravansérail" qui abrita en 1184 le fameux voyageur andalou Ibn *Djubair*.¹⁶

3. KHĀN EL-'ARŪS¹⁷

Caravansérail abandonné¹⁸ isolé au bord de la route dans un défilé de l'Antiliban, dans le lit d'un torrent presque toujours à sec (*Fig. 15*).

Le plan (*Fig. 4*) est rigoureusement identique à celui du *khān* d'El-Ḳoṣair (N° 2); les deux monuments ne se distinguent l'un de l'autre que par les proportions différentes de la cour (ici: 29m, 55 × 24m, 75) et la position de l'escalier, variantes dépourvues de portée: nous sommes bien en présence de deux réalisations du même plan. *Khān* el-'Arūs semble cependant

¹² Dussaud, *op. cit.*, s. *Qouṣeir* (Damis).

¹³ Largeur de la fente: 0 m, 35;—pour son aspect, v. ci-dessous fig. 1.

¹⁴ Il est possible que cet escalier ait été isolé du reste de la galerie par une cloison en réservant l'accès au personnel responsable de la sécurité du *khān* (cf. N°s 1, 3, 5, et 6); je n'en ai pas remarqué de traces.

¹⁵ H. Derenbourg, *Ousama ibn Mounkidh* (Paris, 1889), p. 149.

¹⁶ Ibn *Djubair*, *Rihla* (Le Caire, 1908 [1326 H.]), p. 239.

¹⁷ Dussaud, *op. cit.*, pp. 277 ss.

¹⁸ En raison de sa date et de son état de conservation exceptionnel, l'édifice se trouve maintenant placé sous la protection du Service des Antiquités: il a été clos et nettoyé par les soins de l'officier des Services Spéciaux d'el-Nebek.

avoir été bâti avec plus de soin, car on y observe une recherche plus marquée de la régularité et une observance des axes plus rigoureuse: le fait qu'il a été élevé par un souverain, comme on le dira plus loin, suffit à rendre compte de cette particularité.

La salle haute, destinée à la défense de la porte, est ici conservée dans son intégrité (*Figs. 15 et 16*): c'est une petite pièce rectangulaire (6m, 40 × 3m, 85 dans œuvre), voûtée en berceau, et pourvue sur ses deux petites faces de deux fenêtres d'où l'on domine la route au loin. La coupe (*Fig. 1*) montrera clairement l'agencement du mâchicoulis, qui est une réplique exacte de celui d'el-Ḳoṣair; la porte, de même, présente le même aspect.

On retrouve dans cet édifice tous les caractères qui nous avaient permis d'attribuer à la fin du douzième siècle le *khān* d'el-Ḳoṣair: l'appareillage à deux hauteurs d'assises (*Figs. 15, 16 et 18*), le traitement particulier du parement des gros blocs (*Fig. 19*), le profil des arcs, le mâchicoulis de type archaïque; une inscription (*Fig. 19*), sculptée sur une plaque de pierre posée de champ au dessus de la porte, fournit cette fois une indication chronologique plus précise:¹⁹ elle établit que l'édifice, désigné par le vieux terme de *funduk*, a été bâti par Saladin en 577 H. (1181-82 A.D.).

Or, Ibn D̲j̲ubair, auteur particulièrement digne de foi en raison de l'exactitude et de la précision de ses observations, attribue précisément à ce souverain un caravansérail qu'il appelle le "*khān* du Sultan"²⁰ et qui se confond sans aucun doute avec celui que nous venons de décrire.²¹

La description faite par Ibn D̲j̲ubair de ce monument, qu'il a visité moins de deux ans après sa construction, complète utilement notre information. Il le dépeint en ces termes:

Il est extrêmement beau et robuste, avec une porte de fer, conformément à la coutume qu'ils (i.e. les Syriens) observent dans la construction des caravansérais de toutes ces routes et au soin qu'ils apportent à les rendre solides. Dans ce *khān* coule un filet d'eau qui est amené à un bassin (*siḳāya*) situé au centre de l'édifice et ressemblant à une cuve (*ṣahrīdj*);²² il a des ouvertures à travers lesquelles l'eau s'écoule dans une petite rigole (*siḳāya*) qui fait le tour du bassin; elle s'enfonce ensuite dans le sol au moyen d'un tuyau.

Des restes de ce dispositif, peu explicites en soi, subsistent encore: au centre de la cour un dépression carrée, creusée de main d'homme dans le roc sur lequel est fondé le monument,

¹⁹ *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (Le Caire, 1931-35), N° 3368.

²⁰ Ibn D̲j̲ubair, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-39. On ne saurait affirmer que cette appellation présente à proprement parler la valeur d'un toponyme.

²¹ Ibn D̲j̲ubair, ayant quitté el-Nebk le 2 juillet dans les premières heures de la nuit, a atteint le "*khān* du Sultan" le 3 juillet à l'aube, soit après 8 heures de marche environ. Il faut donc chercher le caravansérail de Saladin à 35 km environ du sud d'el-Nebk, soit aux alentours immédiats du bâtiment appelé aujourd'hui "*khān* el-'Arūs." Ce dernier étant au surplus la seule construction

de Saladin qui existe dans la région, l'identification peut être tenue pour certaine.

²² En arabe d'Espagne (celui qui est la langue de l'auteur) *ṣahrīdj* peut désigner un bassin d'eau chaude employé aux thermes (G. S. Colin et E. Lévi Provençal, *Un Manuel hispanique de Hisba* [Paris, 1931], p. 431); c'est le sens qui doit être adopté ici, car à l'époque d'Ibn D̲j̲ubair les petites cuves de pierre destinées à l'usage domestique reproduisent à une échelle réduite le type adopté pour les grands bassins à ablutions des mosquées (cf. *Baalbek* [Berlin, 1921], t. III, fig. 98; C. Watzinger und K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt* (Ber-

marque l'emplacement du bassin; celui-ci, qui était sans aucun doute maçonné, a complètement disparu. Au fond de l'iwān une petite ouverture carrée, ménagée au ras du sol dans le parement extérieur du mur d'enceinte, laissait pénétrer dans le *khān* l'eau captée dans le lit du torrent, qui ruisselait sous l'iwān en formant un petit *shadhirwān*, pour s'évacuer ensuite par une autre ouverture percée dans la façade à 5 m à gauche de la porte.

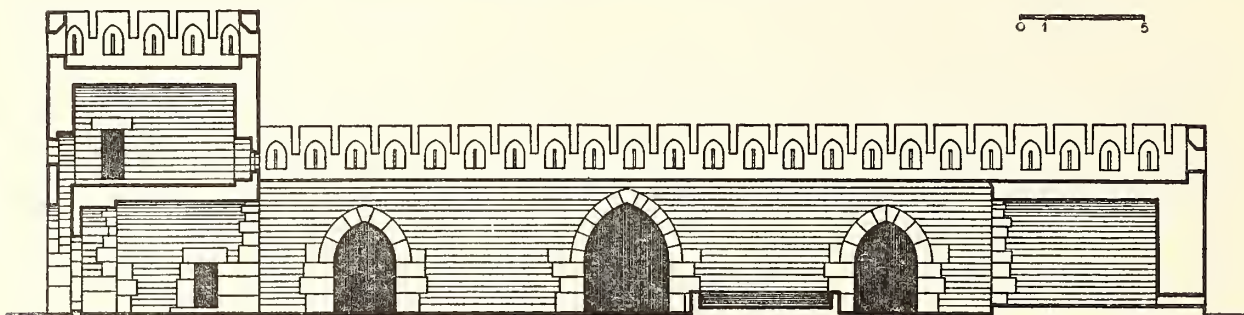


FIG. 1—KHĀN EL-'ARŪS

La restitution d'un parapet crénelé sur tout le périmètre de la terrasse paraît imposée par une observation d'Ibn *Djubair*²³ et la comparaison avec certains caravansérails mamelouks qu'on décrira plus loin;²⁴ pour le détail du dispositif je me suis réglé sur les défenses de Baalbekk, à peu près contemporaines de Saladin.

4. KHĀN ṬŪMĀN²⁵

Le hameau renferme deux caravansérails accolés l'un à l'autre, mais construits à des dates différentes:²⁶ seul, le plus ancien nous retiendra pour l'instant.

Bâtiment (*Fig. 5*) à cour centrale avec galerie périphérique voûtée en berceau, accessible par des baies que fermaient jadis des vantaux.²⁷ La galerie ne se développe que sur trois faces de la cour: la quatrième, très mutilée, était occupée par le couloir d'entrée²⁸ et deux salles voûtées, dont l'une, pourvue d'un *mihrāb*, servait d'oratoire. Dans l'angle sud-est, un local dont l'aspect originel a été modifié par un remaniement postérieur me paraît avoir abrité les latrines.

Les caractères de l'appareillage fournissent une indication chronologique irrécusable: les blocs de grandes dimensions, magnifiquement dressés et assemblés (*Fig. 20*), et le grain d'orge

lin et Leipzig, 1924), Figs. 36, 37, 42, 43 et pl. 58).

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 233: "tous les caravansérails de cette route ressemblent à des citadelles par leurs fortifications."

²⁴ *Khān el-Sebil*.

²⁵ Dussaud, *op. cit.*, s. *Khan Tuman*.

²⁶ K. A. C. Creswell, "Two Khans at Khan Tuman," *Syria*, IV (1923), 134 ss.

²⁷ Les logements des gonds sont partout en place: c'est le seul caravansérail où j'aie retrouvé la trace d'une

fermeture des baies: ailleurs, les vantaux pouvaient être montés sur un cadre de menuiserie fixé à la maçonnerie.

²⁸ L'entrée est ruinée et n'est plus marquée que par une brèche du mur et des arasements qui en assurent la restitution: le plan que j'en donne n'offre aucun caractère hypothétique. L'entrée actuelle du *khān*, percée dans la face opposée du mur d'enceinte, provient d'un remaniement moderne et n'est pas à prendre en considération.

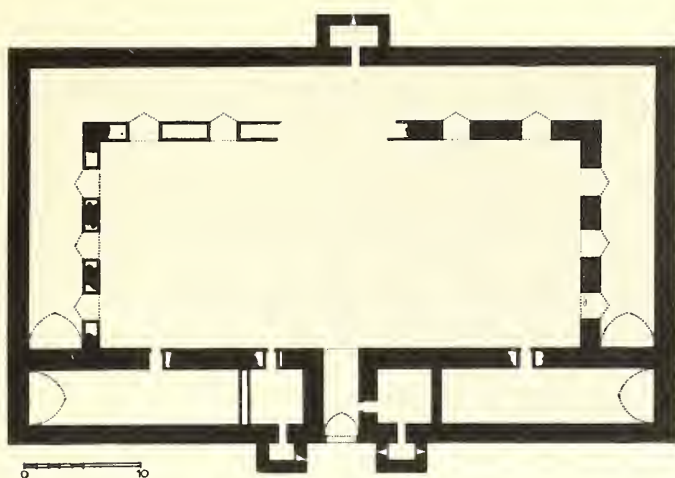


FIG. 2—EL-ḲṬAIFÉ

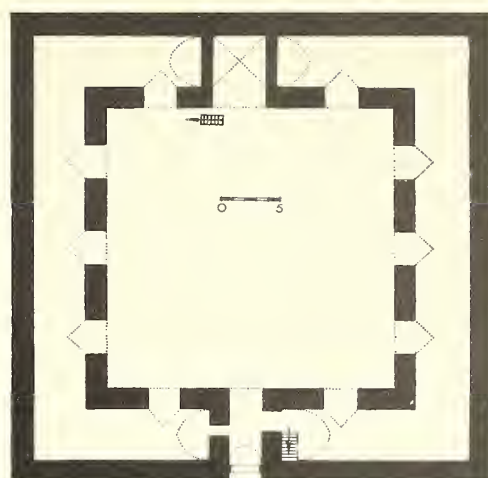


FIG. 3—EL-ḲOṢAIR

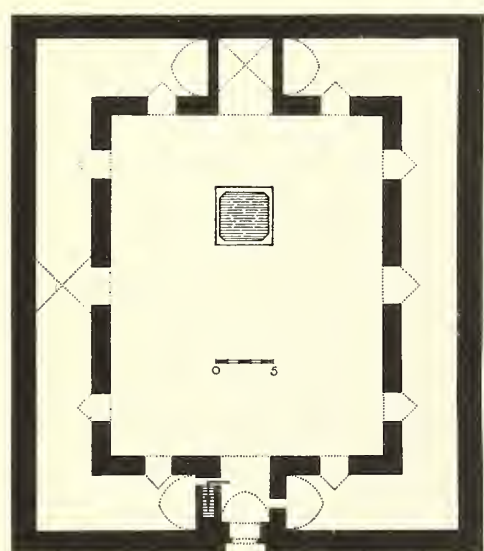


FIG. 4—KHĀN EL-'ARŪS

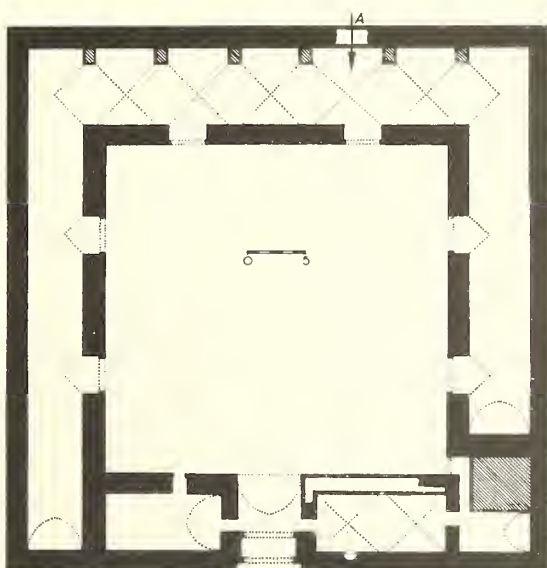


FIG. 5—KHĀN ṬŪMĀN

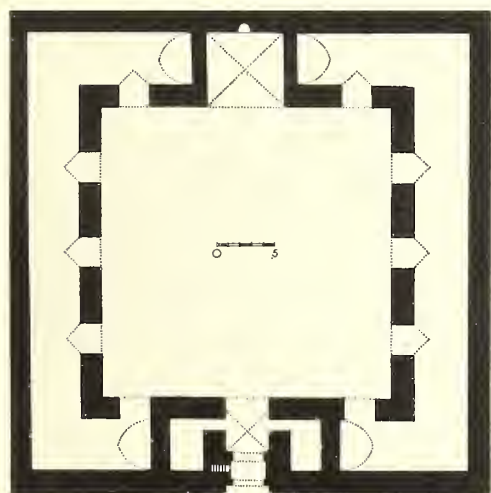


FIG. 6—ḲĀRĀ

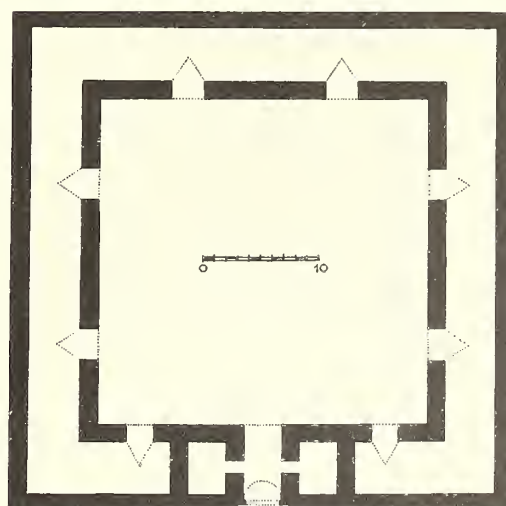


FIG. 7—EL-'ETNÉ



FIG. 8—LA FAÇADE



FIG. 9—L'ENTRÉE



FIG. 10—LA COUR



FIG. 11—UN ANGLE DE LA COUR



FIG. 12—LA CANALISATION DANS LA COUR



FIG. 13—SORTIE DE LA CANALISATION
(GRILLÉE) EN FAÇADE

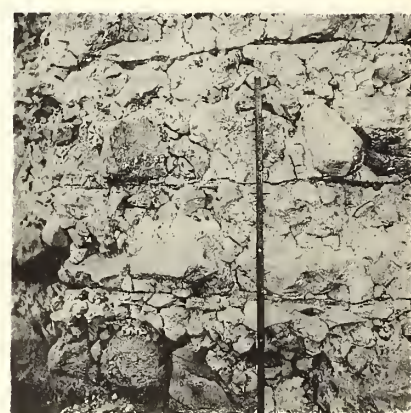


FIG. 14—CONSTRUCTION DES MURS

EL-ḲTAIFÉ



FIG. 15—LA FAÇADE



FIG. 16—L'ENTRÉE VUE DU FOND DE LA COUR



FIG. 17—LA GALERIE



FIG. 18—LA COUR VUE DE L'ENTRÉE



FIG. 19—L'INSCRIPTION, DÉTAIL DE L'APPAREIL

KHÂN EL-'ARÛS



FIG. 20—KHĀN ṬŪMĀN: LA COUR

CLICHÉ: K. A. C. CRESWELL



FIG. 21—EL-'EṬNÉ: LA FAÇADE



FIG. 22—EL-'EṬNÉ: L'ENTRÉE VUE DE LA COUR



FIG. 23—ḲĀRĀ: L'ENTRÉE VUE DE L'ĪWĀN



FIG. 24—EL-'EṬNÉ: LE MÂCHICOU LIS ET L'INSCRIPTION

qui, dans le mihrāb de la mosquée, souligne le lit de pose de chaque assise, classent ce monument parmi les œuvres de l'école architecturale qui s'est développée à Alep au temps des Atābegs seldjūkides et des sultans ayyūbides (seconde moitié du douzième siècle et première moitié du treizième siècle A.D.). Cette indication s'accorde avec un texte historique qui attribue la fondation de ce caravansérail à l'émir Ṭūmān al-Nūrī, mort en 585 H. (1189 A.D.)²⁹

5. KĀRĀ³⁰

Le village possède deux caravansérails: celui que nous décrivons ici est situé dans la partie sud-est de l'agglomération, à gauche de la route, qui longe toute sa façade orientale.³¹

Le plan (*Fig. 6*) est le même que dans les autres caravansérails déjà vus: une galerie voûtée, entourant une cour centrale et interrompue, suivant l'axe principal, par un īwān et par le couloir d'entrée, que flanquent deux petites pièces. Une salle haute (*Fig. 23*) interdit l'accès du bâtiment au moyen d'un mâchicoulis en forme de fente ménagé dans le défoncement du portail.

Les procédés de construction, de même, n'appellent aucune observation spéciale: murs en petit appareil; montants des baies, claveaux et chaines d'angle en grand appareil (*Fig. 23*); voutes en moellons. La surface construite elle-même se révèle équivalente de celle de Khān el-'Arūs et el-Ḳoṣair: 42m × 42m à Kārā;—41m × 44m à el-Ḳoṣair;—41m × 47m à Khān el-'Arūs.

De ces monuments le caravansérail de Kārā ne se distingue que par quelques particularités dont il ne faudrait par exagérer l'importance: l'ampleur de sa salle haute (16m × 8m, 40 hors œuvre³²),—l'insertion dans son īwān, grâce à son orientation favorable, d'un mihrāb à colonnettes qui lui permettait de servir d'oratoire,—la couverture du passage de la porte au moyen d'un arc de brique à sommiers et clef de pierre de taille,—enfin l'utilisation de nombreux remplois antiques (rinseau d'acanthé, niche à colonnettes et à conque, moulure vigoureusement profilée) répartis en façade et dans le couloir d'entrée (*Fig. 23*) avec une volonté évidente d'ornementation.

On pourrait donc, semble-t-il, attribuer ce khān à la fin du douzième siècle, comme les deux autres monuments avec lesquels il présente des rapports aussi étroits. A dire vrai l'agencement de sa porte indiquerait une date un peu plus récente: sa composition générale et certains détails caractéristiques (arc outrepassé, clef à tenons semicirculaires, arc de décharge avec claveaux à crossettes, "tabuta ansata" dans le tympan) accuseraient plutôt le premier quart du treizième siècle.

²⁹ Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 139, avec les références; l'édifice a subi divers remaniements (en hachures sur le plan) dont on précisera la date en décrivant le second caravansérail.

³⁰ Dussaud, *op. cit.*, s. *Qara*.

³¹ A. Musil, *Palmyrena* (New York, 1928), p. 222:

"On the left of the road is the finely ornamented gate of an old khan and a house with two niches and an artistic lintel." Ces deux édifices n'en font en réalité qu'un seul.

³² Cette salle a été transformée en maison d'habitation et je n'ai pu y accéder pour en étudier la disposition intérieure.

Mais d'autre part l'édifice a été décrit par Ibn Djubair, qui y est descendu,³³ ce qui oblige à revenir à l'attribution chronologique proposée tout d'abord, et à admettre que ce caravansérail est une œuvre de la seconde moitié du douzième siècle. Les difficultés d'ordre stylistique que nous avons signalées ne nous paraissent pas constituer un obstacle insurmontable.

6. EL-'ETNÉ³⁴

Dans le Village

Bâtiment (*Fig. 7*) à cour centrale et galerie périphérique voûtée en berceau, identique dans son ordonnance et sa construction aux caravansérails déjà décrits: même plan, mêmes dimensions, même profil des arcs (*Fig. 22*), même agencement de la porte (*Fig. 21*), même assommoir au sommet de l'arc (*Fig. 24*), même salle haute surmontant l'entrée (*Figs. 21 et 22*), même appareillage à deux hauteurs d'assises (*Figs. 21 et 22*). Les seules particularités notables sont: la suppression de l'*iwān*, et les dimensions plus considérables données à la salle haute (environ 16m × 7m, 60 hors œuvre) qu'éclairent, suivant l'axe du monument, deux fenêtres percées dans ses grandes faces.

La date de la construction est indiquée par un texte épigraphique, malheureusement incomplet, gravé³⁵ sur une table à queues d'aronde placée à droite du portail (*Fig. 24*). La recherche de la symétrie qu'on observe d'ordinaire dans la distribution de tels documents sur les façades des édifices, et certaines lacunes typiques de l'inscription³⁶ montrent qu'une seconde table à queues d'aronde, aujourd'hui dissimulée par une construction parasite, devait être placée de l'autre côté du portail. Réduit à ce que nous en voyons, le texte n'en donne pas moins le nom du fondateur, la date et la destination du bâtiment.

A nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux. Celui qui a besoin de la miséricorde divine, l'émir très considérable, le général, le champion de la guerre sainte, celui qui combat pour la foi, Rukn al-Dīn Mankurus (Manguverish) fils de 'Abd-Allāh, affranchi d'al-Malik al-'Ādil, serviteur d'al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, a constitué waḳf ce *khān* (Dieu veuille le bénir!), rez de-chaussée et étage: que Dieu l'accepte de lui! Il en a fait une fondation inaliénable [au profit des] Musulmans et autres voyageurs qui y descendront, quels qu'ils soient, et il a constitué waḳf pour son entretien les deux boutiques situées en dedans de sa porte: [leur revenu] servira à le maintenir en fonctionnement et l'excédent de leur loyer... "Dieu est le meilleur gardien." Que Dieu ait pitié de quiconque implorera sa miséricorde en faveur du maître 'Alī fils de *Khalīfa*, qui a construit cet immeuble, que Dieu bénisse! Il n'y a pas d'autre Dieu que Dieu.³⁷

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 238. Le second caravansérail de Kārā étant postérieur de trois siècles environ à celui-ci, ce n'est évidemment pas lui que le voyageur andalou a rencontré: il n'était pas encore construit. Les indications données ("Grand caravansérail ressemblant à une forteresse solide, au milieu duquel est un grand réservoir, rempli d'une eau qui y est amenée sous la terre, d'une source éloignée") ne peuvent s'appliquer qu'à un caravansérail ayyūbide: or le village ne montre aucun autre vestige de cette

époque que l'édifice dont nous traitons.

³⁴ Dussaud, *op. cit.*, s. 'Otné et 'Atni.

³⁵ Au sens précis du terme (caractères en creux, et non en relief).

³⁶ Une phrase inachevée; absence de l'attestation de la mission prophétique de Mahomet, qui devrait compléter celle de l'unicité divine.

³⁷ Pour le texte arabe, on se reportera au *Répert. chronol. d'épig. arabe*, sous l'année 632 H.

Le fondateur est un personnage connu: esclave d'un frère d'al-Malik al-'Ādil, il exerça le gouvernement de l'Égypte au nom de ce souverain et mourut dans le village de Djerūd, distant de 7 km seulement d'el-'Eṭné, en 1234 A.D.;³⁸ la construction du caravansérail ne doit pas être de beaucoup antérieure à cette date.

"L'étage" mentionné dans l'inscription est évidemment la salle qui surmonte l'entrée. Quant aux deux boutiques constituées waḳf au profit de la fondation, on n'en voit pas davantage trace que dans tel autre édifice où leur existence est pareillement attestée: on en conclura qu'il s'agissait de constructions légères, en bois ou en brique crue, analogues aux cabanes que le *dukkāndjī* syrien élève aujourd'hui dans tous les endroits propices à la vente des victuailles et des objets de première nécessité.

7. ZEBDĀNĪ³⁹

Vestiges de khān ancien dans un passage couvert, à l'entrée du sūḵ du village. Un montant de la porte, et la paroi droite du couloir d'entrée, percée d'une porte en arc brisé donnant accès à l'une des petites pièces latérales, sont tout ce qui reste de l'édifice. Le hasard seul m'a mis en présence de ces débris, insignifiants mais assez caractérisés pour qu'on les attribue à coup sûr à l'époque ayyūbide (fin douzième siècle, début du treizième siècle) comme les autres monuments médiévaux de la localité.

(*To be continued*)

³⁸ H. Sauvaire, "Description de Damas," *Journ. asiat.*, sept.-oct., 1894, pp. 258-59, et 306. Sur son tombeau, à Damas, Wulzinger et Watzinger, *op. cit.*, D. N. XI d.,

et J. Sauvaget, *Monuments historiques de Damas* (Beyrouth, 1932), N° 95.

³⁹ Dussaud, *op. cit.*, s. *Zébedani*.

GLAZED RELIEF WARE OF THE NINTH CENTURY A.D.

BY ARTHUR LANE

ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING OF THE EARLY ISLAMIC POTTERY TYPES CONSISTS OF SMALL, finely made vessels with decoration molded in relief and covered with colored glazes, which sometimes show metallic reflections akin to those on the white-glazed, painted lusterware. Examples were found in some quantity at Samarra and Susa;¹ others are recorded from Egyptian sites (Fustāt, Akhmin, Kōm Washīm), and the ware has also been unearthed at Baghdad, Hīra, Rayy, Brahminābād in Sind, and al-Mīnā in North Syria.² Its decoration shows a remarkable blend of influences from China and Persia with the Hellenistic tradition that survived most strongly perhaps in Egypt; the technique of some examples is important in that it marks a critical phase in the development of luster color.

It would appear from the scarcity of fragments and their great variety in style that this was an experimental manufacture of no long duration; no doubt it went out of fashion soon after the white-glazed painted lusterware had been perfected. The Samarra finds show that it was current between 836 and 883 A.D.—chiefly, we may infer, during the earlier part of that period. Sarre and Kühnel, who maintain the Mesopotamian origin of most of the pottery found at Samarra, in this instance reserve their opinion because the clay differs from the soft, sandy yellow clay used in the white-glazed wares.³ The objection is not necessarily valid, as clays of different textures might have been used in the same district to make different classes of pottery. Thus at Samarra itself the sgraffiato ware from kilns in the Kūra suburb are of comparatively coarse reddish clay, and the unglazed wares are usually hard and yellowish white.⁴ A fine, hard-fired clay would be especially desirable in relief ware, both to fill the finer patterns in the mold and to fortify the raised surfaces against abrasion. The possibility of a Mesopotamian origin for the Samarra fragments may therefore be left open for the time being.

A comparison of style and technique between fragments from the Asiatic sites and those found in Egypt will reveal differences that correspond roughly to the distribution, and it must

¹ F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra* (Berlin, 1925), II, Nos. 125-46 (referred to henceforth as *Samarra*, II). R. Koechlin, *Les Céramiques musulmanes de Suse au musée du Louvre, Mém. mission archéologique de Perse*, XIX (1928), Nos. 123-41 (referred to henceforth as *Suse*).

² Fustāt: Fragments here shown in Figures 2, A, D, E, F; 8, 9, 10; *Fouquet Sale Catalogue* (Paris, June 19-20, 1922), No. 257. Akhmin: *Samarra*, II, 31, 33; *Fouquet Cat.*, Nos. 258-59; and M. Pézard, *La Céramique archaïque de l'Islam* (Paris, 1920), Pl. XII. Kōm Washīm: Fragment here shown in Figure 5, A. Baghdad: Fragments in Figure 11. Hīra: Fragments mentioned by

D. T. Rice, "The Oxford Excavations at Hīra," *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), Pt. 1, 70. Rayy: *Suse*, p. 87; *Samarra*, II, 33 (dish in the Vignier collection). Brahminābād: Fragment in Figure 5, B. al-Mīnā: Fragment in Figure 2, C. The medieval finds made by Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at al-Mīnā will be published in the next issue of *Archaeologia*.

³ F. Sarre, "Frühislamische Keramik aus Mesopotamien," *Cicerone*, XXII (1930), 39, 40; E. Kühnel, "Die 'abbāsidschen Lüsterfayencen," *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), Pt. 2, 149.

⁴ *Samarra*, II, Nos. 1-88 (unglazed); Nos. 250-52, 262-73 (sgraffiato).

be admitted that at least two widely separated centers were engaged in producing this kind of pottery. To what extent mutual influence existed between them is hard to say, but it is unlikely that such a curious technical convention should have been arrived at independently in two different districts—especially when these were so closely linked in politics and art as were Mesopotamia and Egypt under the Abbaside caliphate. Egypt offers no fixed points for dating, and only a general resemblance to the Samarra fragments can support the proposal to limit the local manufacture of glazed relief ware to the ninth century. There appear links with an earlier ceramic tradition lacking (as far as we can tell) at Samarra; it is quite possible that migrant potters from the Nile played a part in transplanting the convention to Mesopotamia.

A series of small glazed cups and other vessels, with relief decoration inspired by silver-work, was made during the early years of the Roman Empire at some undetermined factory in the east Mediterranean area—perhaps at Alexandria. It would be most gratifying if a continuous line of descent could be traced from these cups, which have been admirably studied by Zahn,⁵ to the technically similar wares of ninth-century Egypt; but the intervening links are almost altogether lost. Decoration molded in relief appears continuously on Egyptian lamps from Roman times onward,⁶ and an occasional coat of green glaze suggests that this means of enrichment had survived in the hands of the Copts. The green lamp from Fustāt in Figure 6, *B*, is, to judge from its shape rather than from its Hellenistic vine pattern, already of Islamic date; the fragmentary lamp in the Islamic Department at Berlin (*Fig. 1, A*)⁷ also comes from Fustāt and has a similar glaze. This piece, itself in the shape of a bird, has on the “wings” medallions in relief that contain a fantastic bird and another creature now truncated. The style owes something to the art of Sasanian Persia, the influence of which can also be seen in a number of Coptic textiles that represent hunting scenes in medallion frames.⁸ A small green-glazed thumbpiece, molded with a figure of a peacock displayed (*Fig. 1, C*), was evidently once attached to a lamp whose form may be inferred by comparison with complete Coptic lamps in bronze and terra cotta.⁹

The Egyptian potters did not reserve the glazed relief decoration for lamps alone but applied it to other small vessels, such as shallow bowls and condiment dishes. Here a more elaborate treatment is often shown in the use of different-colored glazes in combination on a single piece. The Roman cups of Zahn's class were frequently glazed yellow inside and green or brown outside, but the Islamic potters probably owed their chromatic inspiration to the example of certain contemporary wares then arriving in Egypt and Mesopotamia from the Far East. A fragmentary bowl of T'ang stoneware found at Samarra was decorated with figures of two birds in relief under green and brown glazes;¹⁰ the fragment from Fustāt, with two fishes

⁵ R. Zahn, “Glasierte Tongefässe,” *Amtliche Berichte aus den Kgl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXV (1914), 276.

⁶ A good series illustrated by O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1909). The unglazed lamp in our Figure 6, *A*, comes from Jerusalem (Victoria and Albert Museum).

⁷ The Berlin fragments are discussed in *Samarra*, II,

31, 33.

⁸ A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-Grounds in Egypt, Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1922), III, Pls. XXIII, XXVI, XXVII.

⁹ Wulff, *op. cit.*, Nos. 804, 806, 1271.

¹⁰ *Samarra*, II, No. 222.

(*Fig. 2, B*), is glazed in green monochrome, but others of its kind that reached Egypt must have shown the same combination of different colors as do examples found in China.¹¹ A small lobed bowl acquired in Cairo and given to the Eton College Museum by Major W. J. Myers (*Figs. 3 and 4*)¹² is a deliberate copy by an Egyptian potter of a piece of this imported T'ang stoneware. The clay is not white, as it would have been in the original, but pinkish and full of coarse dark brown and black grains; the walls are thick and clumsy, and the irregularly rounded reverse still bears the fingerprints left by the potter as he pressed it over the mold. The reverse and much of the inside are covered with a transparent yellow-ocher glaze, and the panels contain splashes of dark reddish purple surrounded by an opaque, muddy yellow-green.¹³ Another Fustāt fragment from the F. R. Martin collection in the National Museum, Stockholm, is glazed in green and yellow ocher (*Fig. 8*); it is part of another bowl that imitates the Chinese. A green-glazed cup in the Berlin Museum,¹⁴ is signed with the name "Husain" in Kufic characters; its ring handle with thumbpiece recalls the Roman cups of Zahn's class, but the lobed sides rather suggest that the potter had seen an imported Chinese silver cup of a kind known from finds in South Russia.¹⁵ The herringbone pattern between the lobes is also seen on the Eton bowl and the Chinese bowls from which it was imitated. Sarre suggests a Mesopotamian origin for the Berlin cup, but the late Dr. Gallois reported that an apparently similar cup, also inscribed, had been found in a well near Jerusalem.¹⁶ This may be the very piece that eventually reached Berlin, and if so, an Egyptian origin would appear likely on the grounds of its provenance.

The color scheme of contrasting glazes adopted from China was used on other vessels whose decoration owes nothing to the Far East. A well-known dish fragment in the Homberg collection shows three ducks gobbling grapes¹⁷—a Nile scene strongly reminiscent of the Greco-Roman past. The ducks might be compared with those on inlaid bone caskets made by Alexandrian artists in the third or fourth centuries A.D.¹⁸ The Homberg fragment was found at Akhmim; a fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum was made in the same mold and came from Fustāt (*Fig. 2, A*). The grapes with hollow centers are the same as those on an unglazed

¹¹ For examples from China see Sarre, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff., *Figs. 3, 4, 6*. R. L. Hobson, *Catalogue of the George Eumorfopoulos Collection* (London, 1925), I, Pl. LIX.

¹² This piece is also illustrated by A. J. Butler, *Islamic Pottery* (London, 1926), Pl. VII, *B*, pp. 75–76. The bowl is 10 cm. long.

¹³ The same color on the fragment (*Fig. 2, A*) has been analyzed by Dr. Plenderleith of the British Museum and found to contain copper. It is used on the Eton bowl, on a Coptic jar in the Kelekian collection (see D. K. Kelekian, *The Kelekian Collection of Persian and Analogous Potteries* [Paris, 1910], Pl. V) and on a fifteenth-century Fustāt fragment with a figure of a bird painted in underglaze blue and green, in the Victoria and

Albert Museum (1092–1921). The muddy green is noticeably different from the clear color sometimes applied to the lustered relief ware, as on the fragment in *Figure 2, D*, and may be a pigment peculiar to Egypt.

¹⁴ See Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 39, *Fig. 2*.

¹⁵ Silver cups made in Central Asia and China, and showing survivals of Hellenistic influence, are illustrated by J. Smirnov, *Argenterie orientale* (St. Petersburg, 1909), Pls. LXIV, LXV, 110–13, LXVII, 114–17, CXVI, 295, CXVII, 291.

¹⁶ H. Gallois, "La Céramique archaïque de l'Islam," *Aréthuse*, V (1928), 141.

¹⁷ Pézard, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII.

¹⁸ Fouquet *Cat.*, No. 261.

Egypto-Syrian lamp from Jerusalem (*Fig. 6, A*). The cheetah on a fragment from Kōm Washīm in the British Museum (*Fig. 5, A*),¹⁹ and a similar creature on a Fustāt fragment in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (*Fig. 9*), again represent the freely drawn, naturalistic style, but the last trace of Hellenistic feeling disappears in a bowl from the Fouquet collection²⁰ decorated with meanly stylized birds in procession around a dotted band.

On all these pieces and also on a dish fragment in Berlin (*Fig. 1, D*), dark and light brown and sometimes muddy green glazes are used in contrast. Green alone covers the Fustāt fragment in Figure 2, *E*, decorated on both sides with interlacing dotted bands like those popular on Coptic leather bookbindings.²¹ This motif reappears on the Samarra relief-ware fragments and may perhaps be regarded as an Egyptian ingredient in their composite style. The bowl in Figure 2, *F*, also from Fustāt, is glazed in pale lemon yellow with flecks of green; the seeded ground pattern of raised dots may have been borrowed from the imported Chinese wares, but the limpet-shaped central boss and the encircled "nailheads" on the border had previously appeared on the Greco-Roman pottery of Egypt and the glazed "Parthian" wares of the Middle East.

Among the Egyptian fragments are four inscribed pieces which evidently bore the name of a single potter. The first is a rectangular condiment dish of unrecorded provenance in the British Museum (*Fig. 7*). Its hard, buff-colored clay contains dark grains of grit; the upper surface is covered with green glaze, the wells with opaque orange-yellow; and the back is unglazed. Around the rim there is a raised Kufic inscription which Guest reads as [...] *Abū Naṣr al-Naṣrī* (or *Baṣrī*) *bi-Miṣr* (see below). The lacuna has been filled with plain plaster. A fragment of a similar vessel from Akhmim (*Fig. 1, B*), now in Berlin, bears an inscription read by Herzfeld as *Abī Naṣ al-Ba*[...] or *Na*[...],²² and by Guest as *Abī Naṣr al-Ba*[...] or *Na*[...]. A third piece, found in 1937 at al-Mīnā near Antioch (*Fig. 2, C*), is inscribed *al-Naṣrī* or *al-Baṣrī*. The fourth specimen is a fragmentary dish from Fustāt,²³ with band decoration and yellow, green, and brown glazes; Fouquet read the inscription around its rim as *Aamal abi Nasr el-Nos(rani)*, "the work of Abi Nasr the Christian." Guest suggests that the last word should rather be completed *Naṣrī* or *Baṣrī*, as on two of the other pieces. Aly Bey Bahgat illustrates a circular condiment dish in the Cairo Museum,²⁴ obviously of the same manufacture but not inscribed. In Berlin there is another circular one from Giza,²⁵ this time decorated in the typically Coptic technique of painting on an unglazed ground.

The Egyptian fragments I have described are far from presenting a homogeneous style,

¹⁹ R. L. Hobson, *Guide to the Islamic Pottery, British Museum* (London, 1932), Fig. 5. It has the same impure clay and muddy green as the Eton bowl.

²⁰ *Fouquet Cat.*, No. 261.

²¹ Wulff, *op. cit.*, Nos. 693, 394; H. Ibscher, "Koptische Bucheinbände aus Ägypten," *Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX (1928), 89, No. 3.

²² *Samarra*, II, 31, 82, No. 7.

²³ D. Fouquet, *Contribution à l'étude de la céramique orientale* (Le Caire, 1900), Pl. XV, No. 1, p. 125.

²⁴ Aly Bey Bahgat, *La Céramique musulmane de l'Égypte* (Le Caire, 1930), Pl. LIII, No. 4.

²⁵ Wulff, *op. cit.*, No. 1568. *Ibid.*, No. 131 is a somewhat similar object in stone found at Luxor.

but among them appear certain tendencies entirely lacking in the Mesopotamian finds, in addition to others shared by both. Most striking are the fondness for naturalistic animal drawing, inherited from the Hellenistic past, and the use of different-colored glazes in combination on a single piece—an idea borrowed from contemporary Chinese stoneware. Luster is completely lacking—the only pottery of this class so far reported from Egypt on which luster is used consists of a few fragments from Fustāt at Leipzig,²⁶ a fragment from Fustāt in Mr. Peter Ruthven's collection (*Fig. 10*), and a fragment from Fustāt in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Fig. 2, D*).²⁷ The Leipzig piece²⁸ has exact parallels in the Tigris Valley, whereas the one on Figure 2, *D*, that shows part of a Kufic inscription with characters picked out in clear copper green, may be compared with a bowl found at Susa.²⁹ I have no hesitation in declaring these to be imported pieces. At al-Minā, the port of Antioch in north Syria, was found a lustered fragment of the same type, with fragments of the white-enameled Abbaside lusterware; all must have been broken and discarded on their way to Egypt. A further distinguishing mark of the Egyptian ware appears to lie in the nature of the clay body. I have not been able to examine all the pieces I have quoted, but where this was possible I found that the clay was usually rather coarse, pale yellowish or pinkish, and full of small dark brown or black impurities. Exceptions occur in the fragments (*Figs. 2, E, F, and 8*); here the clay is purplish gray, but still gritty and somewhat coarse. The variation might well be caused by the activity of different workshops, since both kinds are found in Egyptian lamps.

Among the fragments of glazed relief ware found at Samarra and Susa there is not a single piece that includes an animal figure in the decoration, and the only combination of colors that occurs is a clear copper green, applied in spots, with a yellow luster ground.³⁰ The absence of the more characteristic Egyptian types in itself is a convincing argument that none of these pieces can have been imported from Egypt, and it is borne out by a further consideration of technique and design. The clay shows much variation in color and ranges from pale yellow through pink to brick red, but the texture is always hard, fine, and free from impurities; the fracture is often conchoidal, like that of porcelain. The glazes are green or yellow-ocher³¹ monochrome, and a nacreous yellow-ocher with a lustrous sheen, laid directly over the clay. Sarre was evidently misled into thinking that the sulphurous powder formed by decomposition of the glaze was a white clay slip, but there is nothing of the kind on the well-preserved fragments (*Figs. 2, D, and 11*).

The ornamental motifs on the Samarra–Susa examples are of many kinds: simple interlocking half-circles, leaf patterns, zigzags, and cusped arches; these are used for the outer walls of the shallow cylindrical cups, which are usually covered with a green glaze, whereas more

²⁶ *Samarra*, II, 33, Fig. 83.

²⁷ C. 852–1921; colored illustration in Butler, *op. cit.*, Pl. VIII, *B*—hard, fine yellow clay, with well-preserved yellow luster on both sides. The transparent green used on the inscription is a very different color from the opaque pigment on the fragments classed as Egyptian.

²⁸ *Samarra*, II, 33, Fig. 83.

²⁹ *Suse*, No. 141.

³⁰ *Samarra*, II, Nos. 142–46.

³¹ *Suse*, Nos. 132–35; it is possible that these pieces were once lustered and that decay has removed the metallic sheen.

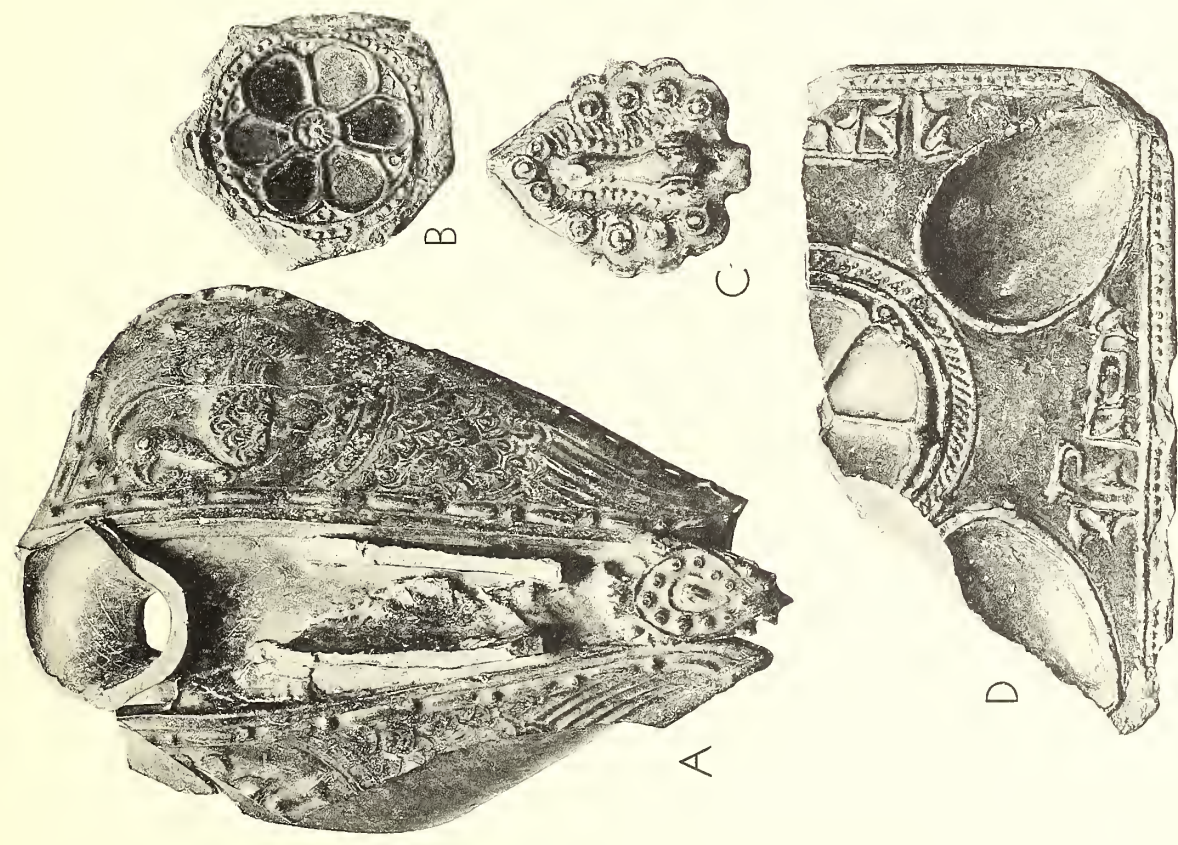


FIG. 1—FRAGMENTS FROM EGYPT. BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

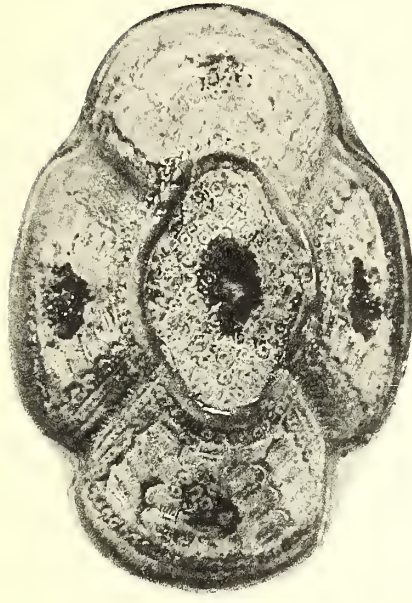


FIG. 3—BOWL FROM EGYPT. ETON COLLEGE MUSEUM

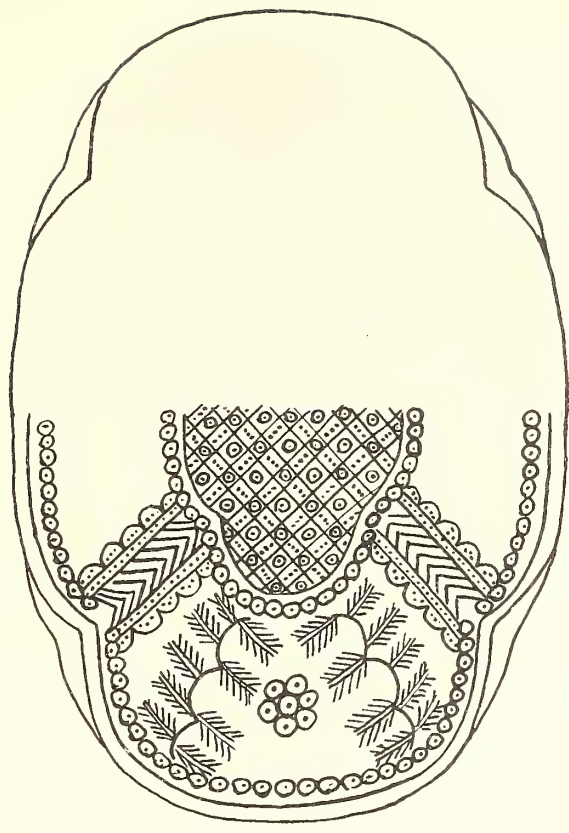


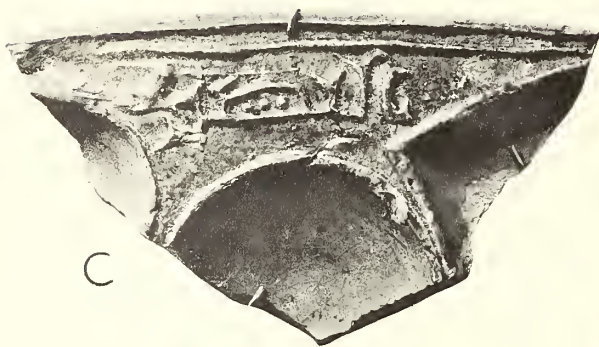
FIG. 4—RELIEF DESIGN ON THE ETON COLLEGE BOWL



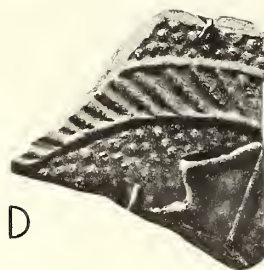
A



B



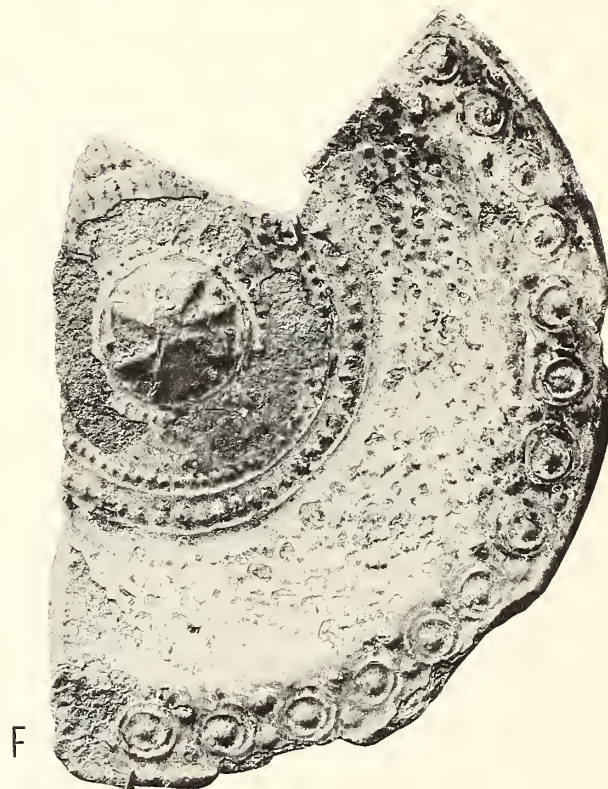
C



D



E



F

FIG. 2—FRAGMENTS FROM FUSTĀṬ. C FROM AL-MĪNĀ, NORTH SYRIA
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

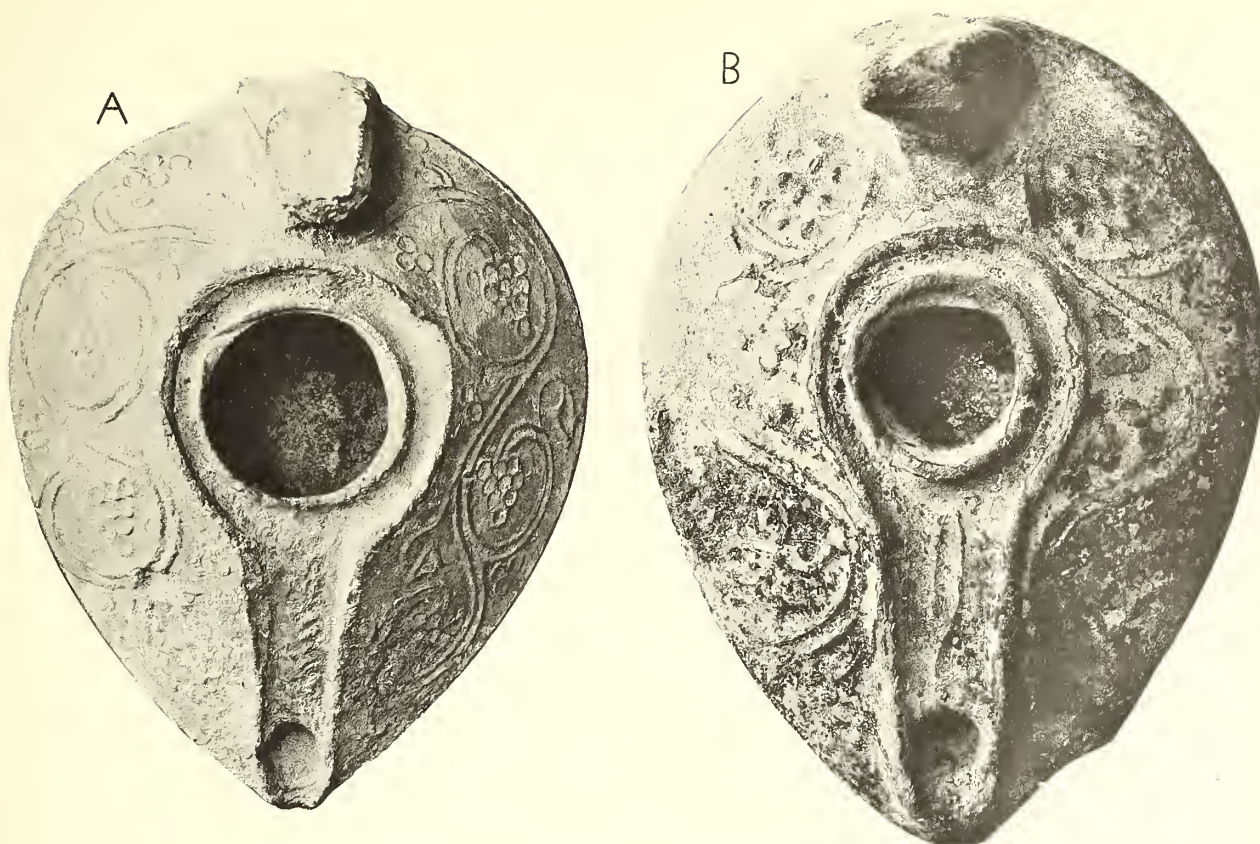


FIG. 6—LAMPS. *A*, UNGLAZED, FROM JERUSALEM, *B*, GREEN-GLAZED, FROM FUSTÂT
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



FIG. 7—CONDIMENT DISH. LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

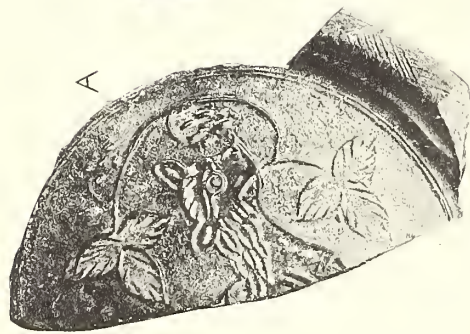


FIG. 5—FRAGMENTS. *A* FROM KÖM
WASHÏM, *B* FROM BRAHMINÂBÂD
LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

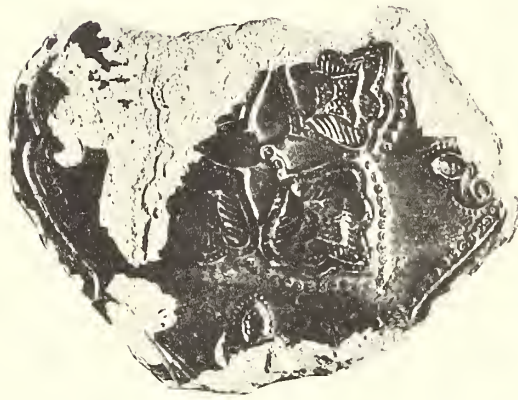


FIG. 8—FRAGMENT FROM
FUSTÂT. STOCKHOLM
NATIONAL MUSEUM

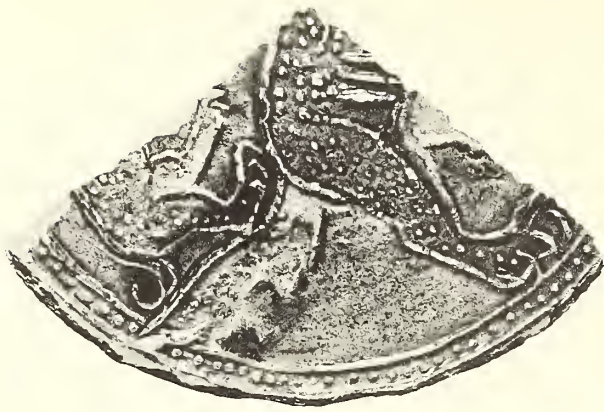


FIG. 9—FRAGMENT WITH
POLYCHROME GLAZES, FROM FUSTÂT
BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS



FIG. 10—FRAGMENT WITH LUSTERED
GLAZE, FROM FUSTÂT. ANN ARBOR
PETER RUTHVEN COLLECTION



FIG. 11—FRAGMENTS WITH LUSTROUS GLAZE, FROM BAGHDAD
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

ambitious attempts at a composite design are reserved for the expensive dishes covered with luster color. Signatures are unfortunately lacking, though parts of large Kufic inscriptions are found on a few fragments. Among these is the remarkable piece shown in Figure 11, *A*, glazed in gold luster with a touch of clear green; with its companion (*Fig. 11, B*), glazed in luster alone, it was found at Baghdad.³² The style of the whole group is epitomized in such pieces as *Samarra*, II, Nos. 130-46, and *Suse*, Nos. 132, 134, 137, 139, 140.

The basis of design is usually a geometrical figure in the middle, a polygon or meander formed of dotted bands, from which branch out palmettes or half-palmettes of a very barbarized form. Around the border are limpet-shaped bosses, hatched bands, or rows of dotted circles; parts of the field are often covered with a diaper pattern or with raised spots. I have already mentioned the dotted bands in connection with the Egyptian fragments, and it appears from its use in Coptic art that this element was derived from Egypt. But the dotted bands were readily adopted into Mesopotamian art—they are found on the painted, white-glazed pottery of the "blue and green" family,³³ in early illuminated manuscripts,³⁴ and toward the end of the Samarra period, in stucco wall decoration;³⁵ later, perhaps during the tenth century, they appear in the painted pottery made at Afrāsiyāb near Samarkand.³⁶ The simple hatched band in relief, seen on the bowl signed by Abū Naṣr and published by Fouquet, was also adopted in Mesopotamia, but the Egyptian origin of the arcading that surrounds the dish, *Samarra*, II, No. 130, is not so self-evident as Butler once tried to prove.³⁷ The Ṭāk-i Kistrā at Ctesiphon is a monumental example of the use of round-headed arcading by the Sasanians;³⁸ as decoration it appears on a silver dish in Berlin which bears, in addition, the stepped battlement motif that Persia had inherited from the Assyrians.³⁹ The same combination, round-headed arcade with stepped battlement, appears in some of the early Koran illuminations thought to have been done in Mesopotamia.⁴⁰ A fragmentary kursī from Samarra,⁴¹ with lustered glaze over relief decoration, shows the battlement in pottery. It seems probable that both motifs represent a Persian ingredient in the art that had been created for the caliphate by craftsmen brought together from all parts of the dominions.

³² Both fragments were recently presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum by Mr. Kirkor Minassian.

³³ *Victoria and Albert Museum, Review of Principal Acquisitions 1919* (London, 1922), p. 9, Fig. 3; *Cleveland Museum, Inaugural Exhibition* (Cleveland, 1916), No. 55. Dotted bands in enamel on unglazed pottery. *Samarra*, II, Nos. 120 a, 121, 123.

³⁴ F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst* (Munich, 1910), I, Pl. 2, No. 569.

³⁵ E. Herzfeld, *Die Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra und seine Ornamentik, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra* (Berlin, 1923), I, Pls. LVIII, LXII, LXXII, LXXV, LXXVI, LXXXV, etc.

³⁶ There is a bowl with dotted interlacing bands of Samarkand type in the collection of Mr. Frank Brang-

wyn, R.A. (formerly on loan at the Victoria and Albert Museum).

³⁷ Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45.

³⁸ F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1923), Figs. 68, 69.

³⁹ *Berliner Museen, Berichte aus den Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, LII (1931), 97, 98, Figs. 4, 5. The half-palmettes on this dish are curiously like those on some of the lustered relief ware at Samarra. For the battlement, compare W. Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur* (London, 1925), Pls. 23, 24, 29, etc., and Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pls. 105, 111.

⁴⁰ *Arabic Paleography, Khedivial Library, Cairo*, ed. B. Moritz (Cairo, 1905), Pls. 1, 2, 11.

⁴¹ *Samarra*, II, No. 132.

A third influence came from the same Chinese source that had inspired the Egyptian potter who made the Eton bowl. A T'ang lobed dish with relief decoration of two birds under green and brown glazes was found at Samarra,⁴² another of the same kind was faithfully copied in an Islamic green-glazed bowl from Susa.⁴³ Here the clay is very fine, grayish yellow, differing radically from the coarse clay of the Eton bowl. Other Chinese motifs at Susa are the star diaper on a curious ladle,⁴⁴ and perhaps the "seeded" ground.⁴⁵ M. Koechlin has pointed out a resemblance in design between the dish, *Suse* No. 140, and a Chinese bronze mirror of the Han dynasty,⁴⁶ but in view of the wide discrepancy of date the similarity must be accidental. The color scheme of combined glazes, evidently adopted in Egypt on the suggestion of the imported Chinese stoneware, was neglected in Mesopotamia. If we are to suppose that Egyptian workmen helped to introduce the manufacture of glazed relief ware at the caliph's court, they must have arrived before this convention took root in their native land.

So far I have attempted to distinguish between the products of Egypt and those of the factories situated, on strong a priori evidence, in Mesopotamia. It remains to vindicate the claim of the latter country as a source of production—and a process of elimination may pave the way. If the lustered relief ware was not made in Mesopotamia, the neighboring countries of Syria or western Persia are the likely alternatives. The excavations conducted at al-Minā in north Syria by Sir Leonard Woolley during 1936–37 produced a comprehensive range of local ninth-century pottery, dated with the help of imported Abbaside lusterware, but there was found only one fragment of the lustered relief ware of Samarra type. I understand that there is a corresponding dearth in the finds of the Princeton Expedition at Antioch, and only one piece of green-glazed relief ware is mentioned in Dr. Ingholt's preliminary account of the excavations at Hama.⁴⁷ In western Persia, few sites have yet been sifted by archaeologists for fragments with historical as opposed to commercial value, and when they are, companions may be found for the single example hitherto recorded as coming from Rayy.

The Chinese influence, amounting to sheer plagiarism in the green lobed bowl from Susa,⁴⁸ suggests that the ware was produced in a district easily accessible to Far-Eastern imports. It appears that in Abbaside times little Chinese pottery found its way into Persia overland—none has been found among the numerous fragments from Afrāsiyāb near Samarkand,⁴⁹ and so far none at Nishapur in Khurasan.⁵⁰ The natural route for trade was by sea, between Canton and Han-fu, in China, and the ports of the Persian Gulf.⁵¹ The annals of the T'ang

⁴² *Samarra*, II, No. 222.

⁴³ *Suse*, No. 130.

⁴⁴ *Suse*, No. 134.

⁴⁵ *Suse*, Nos. 139, 140.

⁴⁶ R. Koechlin, "Chinese Influences in the Musulman Pottery of Susa," *Eastern Art*, I (1928–29), 3–12, Pl. IV, 11, 12.

⁴⁷ H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne de fouilles de Hama* (1934), p. 37.

⁴⁸ *Suse*, No. 130.

⁴⁹ K. Erdmann, "Ceramiche di Afrasiab," *Faenza*, XXV (1937), 126–27. There are no Chinese pieces among the fragments from this site in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁵⁰ "The Iranian Expedition, 1936," *Metropolitan Mus. Art Bull.*, XXXII (1937), 12, 13.

⁵¹ For the relations between the Arabs and China, see the valuable material collected in W. Heyd, *Histoire du*

dynasty speak of Chinese junks sailing up to Sīrāf (the modern Bandar Ṭāhirī) and even to the mouth of the Euphrates. Ibn Khordādhbeh, Director of the Posts at Baghdad, describes the voyage from Obolla to China in the very period we are discussing (844–48 A.D.), and it was from the Persian Gulf that the adventurous Sulaimān began the travels he published in 851 A.D. A fragment of green-glazed relief ware in the British Museum (*Fig. 5, B*) was found, with later tenth-century fragments of Mesopotamian lusterware, at Brahminābād in Sind, whither it must have been conveyed in vessels bound for India and the Far East.⁵²

The focus of the Far-Eastern trade was naturally Mesopotamia, though an appreciable part of the merchandise was diverted to the Red Sea and Egypt before entering the Persian Gulf. In Mesopotamia itself the court absorbed the finest of the imported stoneware, which at Samarra was found only in the palace; at provincial Susa it was barely represented by a single fragment.⁵³ It does not seem possible that Chinese ware was allowed to pass through Mesopotamia into northwestern Persia. There is no trace of Chinese influence in the early sgraffiato wares found at Rayy or thereabouts, and the imitation T'ang bowl from Susa would appear an incongruous relative for the coarse, if vigorous, pottery made in Persia at this time.

The evidence of Samarra and Susa supports the opinion that Chinese pottery was a luxury enjoyed by few; fine bowls like the Samarra fragment with birds⁵⁴ would not be in general currency for potters anywhere in Mesopotamia to copy. After the founding of Samarra in 836 A.D. there seems to have been a conscription of artistic talent; under pressure, the potters developed the white-enameled Abbaside lusterware to satisfy the demand for fine pottery stimulated by imports from China. As they were working for the court, they would not be denied the use of the best foreign models.

Is one to regard the glazed or lustered relief ware as the first fruits of this renaissance, produced by potters working under the caliph's immediate patronage? A passage in Ya'qūbī, quoted by Gaston Wiet, describes the summoning to Samarra of potters from Basra and Kufa.⁵⁶ If this were given the most liberal interpretation, it would mean that much of the fine pottery found in Samarra was made in the neighborhood, in spite of the absence of kilns to prove it; moreover, attention is drawn to Basra and Kufa as districts of earlier ceramic repute. The glazed relief ware is in many respects the most archaic of the wares found at Samarra, and might well have been a type established before 836 A.D. In that event, Kufa and Basra come into consideration as its earlier homes in Mesopotamia. It has been seen that a maker of this kind of pottery in Egypt signs his name Abū Naṣr al-Naṣrī—or Baṣrī; if the latter reading is right, there is a link, at present unexplained, with Egypt, where a kindred form of pottery

commerce du Levant au moyen age (Leipzig, 1886), I, 24–38. The question in its application to pottery is further discussed by L. Ashton, "China and Egypt," *Oriental Ceramic Soc. Trans.*, 11 (1933–34), 62 ff., and by A. Lane, "Sgraffito Ware of the Near East," *Oriental Ceramic Soc. Trans.*, 15 (1937–38), 37.

⁵² Hobson, *Guide* . . . , Figs. 14, 15; *idem*, "Potsherds

from Brahminābād," *Oriental Ceramic Soc. Trans.*, 1928–30, pp. 21–23.

⁵³ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, p. 2, Fig. 3.

⁵⁴ *Samarra*, II, No. 222.

⁵⁵ Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

⁵⁶ G. Wiet, "Deux pièces de céramique égyptienne," *Ars Islamica*, III (1935), Pt. 2, 172.

appears as a native growth. But the application of luster pigment to this relief ware is evidently confined to Mesopotamia—indeed, there is at present no convincing evidence to show that luster was used on pottery in Egypt before the Fatimid period. It may be otherwise for glass; however, conjectures and polemics on a vexed subject are outside the scope of this article, an imperfect attempt at the nonpartisan treatment for which Sarre pleaded when dealing with the same material.

The Editor, Dr. Kurt Erdmann, Mr. Rhuvon Guest, Miss A. R. Hall, Dr. C. J. Lamm, Mr. G. A. D. Tait, Mr. Kirkor Minassian, Mr. Peter Ruthven, and the authorities at the British and Swedish National museums have supplied me with information or photographs, and I am deeply obliged to them for their generous help.

INSCRIPTIONS

I sent photographs and transcriptions of the pieces bearing the signature of Abū Naṣr to Mr. Rhuvon Guest, to whom the London museums are deeply indebted for advice on questions of Arabic epigraphy; he has very kindly allowed me to quote from his comments.

Mr. Guest was able to study the British Museum condiment dish (*Fig. 7*) only in a photograph, but I have verified the fact that the disturbing gaps in the inscription occur where missing parts have been restored in plaster, or where Akhmim, is discussed by Herzfeld.⁶⁰ He read what is legible as *'amal Abū Naṣr al-Naṣrī* or *al-Baṣrī*; the last word as it stands ends in an *r*, so there is probably a fault.⁵⁷ The following word can certainly be read *bi-Miṣr*, but it is not certain that this is the right reading. The first word appears to have been damaged, and if there is a gap at the point marked,⁵⁸ the whole inscription probably reads: "This condiment dish is the work of Abū Naṣr al-Naṣrī in Egypt." I cannot say what term was used for "condiment dish," owing to the missing letters. The inscription gives us the name of the potter, and the name is the same as on the Berlin fragment from Akhmin.⁵⁹ There is a difference, however. The Berlin fragment is probably grammatical, but the British Museum dish cannot be in accordance with the ordinary grammatical rules. It does not follow necessarily that the signatures are not those of the same person, but the difference rather suggests that the individuals are different.

The fragment of a similar dish in Berlin, from Akhmim, is discussed by Herzfeld.⁶⁰ He read the name as *Abī Naṣ al . . .* in the genitive, implying the loss of a preceding word such as *'amal*, "work of"; the last word, presumably the *nisba* or place name, remains incomplete. Herzfeld assumed the fragment to be of Egyptian make and was unable to find an Egyptian place name

⁵⁷ The clay has not taken an adequate impression from the mold.

⁵⁸ And there is!

⁵⁹ *Samarra*, II, 82, No. 7.

⁶⁰ *Samarra*, II, 82.

beginning with the characters shown and of suitable length to fill the space; he therefore suggested that the word might be *al-Baṣrī* (of Basra) or *al-Naṣrānī* (the Christian). Guest read the maker's name as *Abī Naṣr al . . .*, and would not agree to Herzfeld's suggestion that the defective word should be completed as *al-Naṣrānī*:

I think it unlikely that any potter would call himself *Naṣrānī*, "Christian." This is at the present time rather a contemptuous term, like "Gentile," used by a Jew to mean someone who is not a Jew, or "Yid," to mean Jew, and I fancy it has never been an expression Christians would apply to themselves.

The same word is defective on the third piece in this series—the dish fragment from Fustāṭ published by Fouquet.⁶¹ Fouquet reads the inscription as *Aamal abi Naṣr el-Nos(rani)*. The name here is the same as that on the Berlin fragment, but Guest disagrees with the completion of the last word. Indeed, he is fully justified in doing so by a comparison of the inscription on the British Museum condiment dish, where the full name appears as *Abū Naṣr al-Naṣrī* or *al-Baṣrī*. The fourth piece in this series, the fragment of a condiment dish found at al-Mīnā in 1937 (*Fig. 1, C*) again bears the second half of the name:

It can be read *al-Naṣrī* or *al-Baṣrī*, or just possibly *al-Naḍrī*. If *al-Naṣrī* is the appellative, it might connect the person to whom it refers with (*a*) the tribe of Naṣr, (*b*) a district in Baghdad, or (*c*) an ancestor called Naṣr. *Al-Baṣrī* would of course connect him with Basra.

Guest hesitates to accept the identity of Abū Naṣr of the British Museum dish and the Abī Naṣr of the Berlin and Fustāṭ fragments, but it would surely be straining coincidence to suppose that two potters of the same tribe with slightly different names were making exactly the same kind of pottery at the same time. It can be assumed that Abū Naṣr or Abī Naṣr is the same individual.

⁶¹ Fouquet, *op. cit.*, p. 125, and Pl. XV.

THÈMES ET MOTIFS D'ENLUMINURE ET DE DÉCORATION ARMÉNIENNES ET MUSULMANES PAR ARMÉNAG SAKISIAN

L'ARMÉNIE, ISOLÉE PAR SA RELIGION DES MONDES MAZDÉEN ET MUSULMAN, ET MÊME SÉPARÉE des chrétientés grecque et latine par un attachement farouche à son église nationale, avait des chances de conserver une autonomie artistique, ce dont témoigne de façon éclatante, son architecture. Il devrait en être de même, dans le domaine de la décoration, particulièrement vis-à-vis de l'art musulman.

Les Arméniens, quoique vasseaux des califes arabes depuis le milieu du septième siècle A.D., conservaient la propriété de leur sol, leurs institutions féodales et leur liberté religieuse.¹ Les gouverneurs et les généraux envoyés en Arménie par les califes de Damas et de Bagdad, étaient en fait des percepteurs et des receveurs d'impôts,² rôle peu favorable à une diffusion et à une influence artistiques.³ D'ailleurs, pour Ibn Khaldūn "les Arabes sont le peuple du monde qui a le moins de dispositions pour les arts."⁴ Quoiqu'il faille penser de ce jugement du plus grand historien arabe, étayé par "le grand attachement" de ce peuple "pour la vie nomade"; il est certain que les Arabes ne sont pas sortis du désert avec un portefeuille d'épures géométriques sous le bras, comme plus d'un raisonnement semble le supposer. Ils apportaient une religion, une langue, une écriture, mais point d'art.

L'absence d'influence arabe souligne l'indépendance de l'architecture arménienne. "Les solides et massives constructions des Arméniens faisaient contraste avec la fragilité de celles qu'élevaient leurs maîtres les Arabes. Tiflis en Géorgie, née de la conquête arabe... était en bois. Les maisons de Douin, la capitale arabe de l'Arménie, étaient en terre glaise, tandis que les Arméniens bâtissaient en pierres solides leurs églises, leurs palais et leurs couvents."⁵

Avec le onzième siècle, les invasions des Seldjouks "armés d'arcs et les cheveux flottants comme des femmes" commencent (1021). Ils ne s'installeront en Arménie et en Asie Mineure que dans la seconde moitié du siècle.⁶ Leur apparition entraînera, ou coïncidera, avec la disparition des royaumes ardrouni ou bagratides du Vasbouragan (1021), d'Ani (1043) et de Kars (1064), dont la culture se traduisait par des monuments comme la cathédrale d'Ani de la fin du dixième siècle, l'église d'Akhthamar bâtie par le roi Kakig Ardrouni au début du

¹ J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886* (Paris, 1919), p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 163-64. Il est très significatif que ce caractère de la conquête arabe soit reconnu dans des termes identiques pour la Transoxiane, où les gouverneurs n'étaient "que des chefs militaires et des collecteurs d'impôts." W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), p. 186.

³ Cependant dans le premier quart du huitième siècle le calife ommyade Yazīd II intervenait contre les images dans les livres saints arméniens. Laurent, *op. cit.*, p. 167,

et note 3.

⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *Prologomènes*, trad. M. de Slane (Paris, 1863-65), II, 365.

⁵ Laurent, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48, avec renvoi à Thomas Ardrouni, *Histoire des Ardrounis*, trad. Brosset, III, c. 9, p. 141, et à A. Gren, "La Dynastie des Bagratides en Arménie," *Journ. du ministère de l'instruction publique*, 1893, nov. t. 190, 66 (en russe).

⁶ J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs seldjoucides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081* (Paris, 1919), pp. 16 et 26.

dixième, l'évangile de sa femme Mlké, "servante du Christ et reine des Arméniens," de 902 et celui du roi Kakig le Bagratide, de Kars, du onzième siècle.⁷ Le caractère des Seldjouks est celui de nomades primitifs et rudes,⁸ que Marco Polo représente vers la fin du treizième siècle comme s'adonnant à l'élevage.⁹ Leur installation en Asie Mineure commence en 1070.

Les contacts, pacifiques ou non, du sultanat de Konya et du royaume arménien de Cilicie ont été continus et même dans le second quart du treizième siècle A.D., sous Héthoum I et Kai-Ḳubād I ou Kai-Ḳhusraw II, des monnaies communes ont été frappées, à l'effigie équestre du roi d'Arménie avec inscription arménienne d'un côté et inscription arabe de l'autre, au nom du souverain seldjouk.¹⁰ Dans le domaine de l'enluminure, où la Cilicie arménienne a laissé aux douzième et treizième siècles un grand nombre d'œuvres intéressantes et quelquefois remarquables,¹¹ un parallèle aurait été instructif, mais la carence semble complète sur ce plan, du côté turcoman.

Les Seldjouks témoignent en matière d'art de plus de réceptivité que de dynamisme. À Akhlāt, au bord du lac de Van, s'élèvent des monuments funéraires musulmans de la seconde moitié du treizième siècle A.D.,¹² dans un style arménien presque classique, en pierre volcanique rose, décorés de fausses arcades et de niches en V. À Divrigi, Konya et Sīvās s'échelonnent au cours du même siècle des édifices ornés de grosses moulures ou de fleurons en haut relief, qui sont du baroque arménien. À côté de monuments signés par des architectes persan et syrien, il subsiste dans la capitale des Seldjouks, à Konya, trois édifices du treizième siècle A.D. par l'Arménien Kelouk: le medrese Indje Minareli (1251),¹³ la mosquée de la Porte de Larenda (1258)¹⁴ et le Nalindji mesdjid.¹⁵ Deux panneaux d'arabesques, l'un végétal, l'autre géométrique, se rapportent respectivement au medrese et au mesdjid (*Figs. 1 et 2*). La signature Kaloyan du Gök Medrese de Sīvās (1270) est également arménienne.¹⁶ F. Sarre constate

⁷ Ce remarquable évangile auquel je me référerai plus d'une fois, doit se placer à Kars même, la capitale de Kakig, et dans la première moitié du onzième siècle. Son règne d'une quarantaine d'années (1026-64 A.D.), deux fois plus long que son séjour en territoire byzantin (Laurent, *ibid.*, p. 88, note 2), joint à la finesse de sa silhouette et à la jeunesse de son épouse et de sa fille, sur leur portrait de famille, semblent déterminants. A. Tchobanian, *La Roseaie d'Arménie* (Paris, 1918-29), III, Fig. de la p. 269.

⁸ Laurent, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁹ *Le Livre de Marco Polo*, édition Pauthier (Paris, 1865), I, 37.

¹⁰ P. L. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venise, 1899), p. 455; et K. J. Basmadjian, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* (Venise, 1936), Figs. 65 et 66 (en arménien).

¹¹ A. Sakisian, "L'Enluminure de l'évangile arménien de 1274 au nom du Maréchal Auchine," *Revue de l'art*, LXVIII (1935), Figs. 1-7.

¹² H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies* (London, 1901), II, 289-90, Figs. 181-82.

¹³ H. Saladin, *Manuel d'art musulman, L'Architecture* (Paris, 1907), Fig. 335. Le minaret mince, Indje Minare, qui donne à l'édifice son nom, a deux fois la hauteur du corps principal du collège et préfigure ainsi les minarets de Stamboul, qui par le contraste de leur silhouette élégante avec une construction à coupole plate, font que l'ensemble s'élance.

¹⁴ Une grande et belle reproduction de la façade de ce monument, qui seule subsiste, est donnée sous le nom de Sahib Ata, par F. Sarre dans *Denkmäler persische Baukunst* (Berlin, 1910), Pl. CIX.

¹⁵ Petite mosquée. La signature "Kélouk, fils d'Abd-Allah," est lisible dans le coin supérieur du panneau de droite (*Fig. 2*). Evliyā Čelebī mentionne le collège Nalindji comme le plus célèbre de Konya, *Livre des voyages* (Stamboul, 1898-1900), III, 21 (en turc).

¹⁶ Un commissaire du peuple de ce nom, de la République Soviétique Arménienne, a été exécuté à Erivan

d'indiscutables rapports entre l'art seldjouk et l'art arménien, en particulier sur les bas-reliefs à décor animal.¹⁷

Quelques données se rapportant à la peinture font aussi ressortir la place tenue par les artistes arméniens. La célèbre sultane Gurdjī Khātūn, qui était géorgienne, avait fait exécuter vers le milieu du treizième siècle A.D. des portraits du grand mystique Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, par 'Ain al-Dawla, considéré comme un chrétien d'Anatolie. Il existait à la même époque à Konya un autre peintre arménien réputé.¹⁸

Après l'invasion des Mongols, du "peuple des archers," comme disent les chroniqueurs arméniens, des influences chinoises se manifestent dans l'enluminure arménienne de la seconde moitié du treizième siècle (*Fig. 6*), comme dans la miniature persane. Le prince-moine arménien Héthoum, qui résida auprès de Ghāzān, écrit en 1307 A.D. dans son *Livre des hystoires de la terre de Orient*: "Et vraiment len voit venir de cely pais (royaume de Cathay) toutes choses estranges et merveilleuses et de subtil labeur, que bien semblent estre la plus subtil gent du monde dart et de labour de mains."

L'adoption de l'islamisme, c'est-à-dire de la religion des vaincus, par les Mongols à la fin extrême du treizième siècle A.D. a favorisé la calligraphie et l'enluminure musulmanes. Le monumental coran d'Olçaitu dont le Musée d'art turc et musulman de Stamboul, la Bibliothèque du Caire et celle de Leipzig se partagent quelques parties qui s'échelonnent de 1306 à 1313 A.D. et se localisent à Bagdad, Mossoul et Hamadan, est une œuvre qui n'aurait pas vu le jour, sans la puissante dynastie des Īl-Khāns, fraîchement convertie.¹⁹

C'est le mot "fleur" qui en arménien sert de racine au terme enlumineur, ce qui indique le caractère floral dominant des plus anciens ornements de manuscrits, tandis que dans les langues musulmanes l'expression correspondante est formée par le vocable "or": respectivement dzaghgogh et mudhahhib. En effet c'est l'or, joint à l'outre-mer, qui est caractéristique de l'enluminure persane et en général musulmane,²⁰ ce qui marque un premier contraste, à raison de la polychromie de la peinture décorative arménienne.

La vivacité et l'éclat des couleurs jouent un rôle essentiel dans cette dernière. Les premières lignes de texte des frontispices d'évangiles sont souvent en onciales qui relèvent de l'enluminure plus que de la calligraphie. On devine, même sur les reproductions en noir, la vivacité des touches qui font de ces lettres, serties en quelque sorte de gemmes, une fête pour les yeux (*Fig. 23*). Bode et Kühnel relèvent le coloris original, riche et puissant, des tapis arméniens et

au cours des épurations de 1938. *Journal arménien Haratch* (17 Mars, 1938).

Max van Berchem et Halil Ethem admettent l'origine arménienne de ces deux noms en se basant tant sur leur étymologie que sur le style des monuments qu'ils signent. *Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Asie Mineure*, 3^e partie, 1^{er} fasc., *Sivas et Divrighi*, p. 21 et notes 3 et 4.

¹⁷ F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia* (Berlin, 1936),

notamment pp. 32, 47, 53-54, Figs. 34-35 et Pls. 12-13, 17.

¹⁸ Köprülüzade Mehmed Fu'ād, *Journal Ikdam* de Stamboul, No. 8842.

¹⁹ Voir pour ce coran A. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), pp. 29-30.

²⁰ Plus à l'est en Indo-Chine, c'est l'or et le rouge qui sont les couleurs décoratives classiques.

leurs tons somptueux, purs et vifs.²¹ Le noir d'un puissant effet décoratif par contraste, est souvent employé dans les tapis et les travaux de broderie arméniens, quelquefois même comme fond.²² La couleur est également une caractéristique de l'architecture arménienne, qui met en œuvre des pierres colorées. Ainsi l'église d'Akhthamar est en grès rose et ces blocs ont été transportés de la région du Tigre.²³

De même que dans la miniature persane,²⁴ les couleurs ne masquent pas dans l'enluminure arménienne un dessin imparfait, mais au contraire cachent souvent un tracé précis et poussé. Le dessin d'une Vierge à l'enfant de 1298, dans une Bible royale, en est un exemple iconographique.²⁵ Un frontispice inachevé de 1655 d'un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, d'une grande précision de dessin, gagne en ébauche.²⁶

Les enlumineurs arméniens ont adopté une ordonnance architectonique affectant principalement la forme de tables de concordance, c'est-à-dire d'un fronton cintré ou rectangulaire soutenu par des colonnes, et appelées khoran (autel). Les entêtes des évangiles ne sont que les frontons de ces édicules, auxquels manquent les colonnes. Le nom qu'elles portent, ghisakhoran (demi-autel), le confirme et ce que l'on serait tenté de prendre pour le côté inférieur d'un encadrement, n'est qu'une architrave qui dépasse souvent le fronton.

Dans l'évangile de 887,²⁷ le plus ancien manuscrit daté qui nous soit parvenu, les tables de concordance sont réduites à leur plus simple expression, les arcs en plein cintre et les colonnes étant linéaires; mais déjà l'éclat de la palette—vert foncé, jaune canari franc, et rouge profond—s'affirme. Avec le dixième siècle—évangile de la reine Mlké de 902, d'Etchmiadzin de 989 et de St.-Lazare de Venise (cod. 1400)—une flore à tendances naturalistes et un décor animal accompagnent les tables de concordance qui revêtent un caractère constructif, voire imposant que l'on retrouve au treizième siècle, en Cilicie.²⁸

Mais c'est la grande place tenue par l'élément animal, qui caractérise l'enluminure, et d'une façon plus générale, la décoration arménienne. Je citerai à l'aube du dixième siècle, dans l'évangile de la reine Mlké, d'élégants échassiers—oiseaux populaires entre tous en Arménie—et des canards dont la silhouette est caractérisée.²⁹ Dans le manuscrit de 989 d'Etchmiadzin, en dehors de perdrix réalistes, deux paons majestueux sont un chef-d'œuvre de cette école d'animaliers (*Fig. 3*). L'oiseau de la Figure 4 de beaucoup de caractère appartient à un évangile de 1018.³⁰ Les pattes, d'une ligne ténue, contrastent avec le trait du reste du corps, comme

²¹ W. Bode et E. Kühnel, *Antique Rugs from the Near East*, trad. R. M. Riefstahl (New York, 1922), p. 39.

²² Voir pour les couleurs typiques de ces tapis A. Sakisian, "Les Tapis arméniens du XV^e au XIX^e siècle," *Revue de l'art*, LXIV (Juin, 1933), 24, 28 et 33.

²³ Lynch, *op. cit.*, II, 132 et 134.

²⁴ A. Sakisian, "Persian Drawings," *Burlington Mag.*, LXIX (1936), 14 et 19.

²⁵ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, 230.

²⁶ F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes* (Paris, 1913), Pl. LXV, 180, Paris. Arm. 87 fol. 2.

²⁷ G. Khalatiantz, *Evangile traduit en langue arménienne et écrit en l'an 887* (Moscow, 1899), pp. 12 et v. et 22. Edition phototypique du manuscrit de l'Institut Lazareff des langues orientales.

²⁸ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, viii, et Sakisian, "L'Enluminure de l'évangile arménien de 1274 . . .," *Fig. 4*.

²⁹ P. M. Bodourian, *L'Illustration de l'évangile de la reine Mlké* (Venise, 1902), 5^e, 3^e et 4^e planches en couleurs (en arménien).

³⁰ Etchmiadzin, No. 993, p. 6, écrit au couvent de Dalach, canton de Gheghavad.

c'est le cas pour les échassiers de l'évangile de la reine Mké et les paons d'Etchmiadzin. Sur un évangile de 1053 un lapereau et un oison, placés contre les colonnes d'une table de canons, sont rendus avec un esprit qui frise l'humeur.³¹

La page initiale d'un évangile de 1193 A.D. copié en Cilicie, est à nombreux oiseaux dans des rinceaux.³² En 1262 Thoros Roslyn enlumine pour le prince Léon et sa femme un élégant entête d'évangile, à perdrix et échassier dans une riche végétation.³³ La fantaisie et la verve de cet artiste, le plus grand miniaturiste de Cilicie, dont presque rien n'a été publié, se donnent libre cours dans le fronton d'une table de concordance qui doit se situer autour de la même date (*Fig. 5*). Des chevaux à têtes fantastiques, montés par des cavaliers nus, s'élancent à la poursuite de monstres; ou bien c'est un fourmillement animal aux corps horizontalement étirés, auquel s'ajoutent des têtes humaines et des éléments végétaux. Je ne connais pas l'équivalent de cette œuvre décorative. La décoration animale triomphe sur une enluminure en forme de table de concordance de l'évangile de la reine Guéran de 1272, qui relève de l'école de Thoros Roslyn. Une large archivolt est à griffons et léopards, sans parler de sirènes-oiseaux dans les écoinçons et de chapiteaux à lions affrontés.³⁴ Le portique chargé et tumultueux d'un missel de 1286 au nom du prince royal Héthoum, porte sur le fronton même, deux lions chinois fantastiques, à têtes et crinières stylisées, qui flanquent le médaillon central (*Fig. 6*).³⁵ Ils se rattachent aux influences extrême-orientales transmises par les Mongols. Des bêtes analogues d'un dessin moins exubérant se retrouvent sur un rabat de reliure, à Hérat en 1438 A.D.³⁶ soit après la seconde vague d'influence chinoise, représentée par l'invasion de Timour. Ce type de lion, transmis par le Khorassan, existe à Tabriz vers le milieu du seizième siècle A.D., sur des marges.³⁷ Au début du quatorzième siècle, toujours en Cilicie, un fauve et un lièvre sont représentés en course dans des rinceaux. La longueur exagérée des pattes de derrière souligne le mouvement.³⁸ En 1312, à Mouch, la présentation originale dans les marges, de cerfs ou de sirènes accompagnés de feuillage, témoigne de la persistance du sens décoratif animal.³⁹ À une aussi basse époque pour l'art arménien que le seizième siècle, on voit sur le fronton d'une table de canons de 1592, enluminée à Van, une large frise cintrée avec une théorie d'animaux.⁴⁰ À

C'est à la grande obligeance de M. J. Baltrušaitis que je dois les photographies inédites des Figures 4, 5, 20, 22, 31 et 33 qu'il a exécutées à Etchmiadzin, et je le prie de trouver ici mes plus vifs remerciements.

³¹ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, 162. Etchmiadzin, No. 3793.

³² S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1937), Pl. XXIV, St.-Lazare de Venise, No. 1635.

³³ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, pl. en regard de la p. x.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 40.

³⁵ Cette photographie m'a été aimablement communiquée par M. R. Kheroumian que je prie de trouver ici tous mes remerciements.

³⁶ A. Sakisian, "La Reliure persane au XV^e siècle sous les Timourides," *Revue de l'art*, LXV (1934), Fig. 10.

³⁷ F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (London, 1912), II, Pl. 254.

³⁸ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, figs. des pp. 105 et 123, Jerusalem No. 1916, copié en 1305.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, figs. des pp. 132, 159, 183, 156 et 192, Jerusalem No. 1949. Le Ghazarou Vank (couvent de Lazare) du Daron, où l'évangile a été copié, n'est autre que le célèbre couvent "Arakelotz," c'est-à-dire des Apôtres de Mouch, dont je reproduis une porte (*Fig. 13*).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III, en regard de la p. 230. Collection Sevdjian.

l'encontre de cette page documentaire, il est surprenant qu'en 1627 un héron ait été rendu avec un sens moderne de la ligne.⁴¹

La tradition est donc constante, du dixième au dix-huitième siècle.⁴² Mlle S. Der Nersessian souligne un côté de ce caractère en ces termes: "la prédilection avec laquelle nos enlumineurs multiplient les oiseaux isolés est un trait arménien. Dans nul autre pays nous ne trouvons un manuscrit comme celui du roi Gagik de Kars où tout le long des pages, les oiseaux les plus variés remplissent les marges."⁴³

Si on envisage la distribution des motifs floraux ou animaux, on constate que le compartimentage en cercles ou losanges a formé un schéma primitif de décoration. C'est le cas des cercles sassanides à décor animal avec un élément végétal dans les intervalles, dont nous connaissons des exemples comme le manteau du roi Kakig (915-21),⁴⁴ des archivoltes de tables de concordance du dixième siècle⁴⁵ et une robe et un tapis de l'évangile de Kars du onzième siècle.⁴⁶ Une peinture murale de l'église St.-Grégoire d'Ani de 1215 est à losanges ornés d'un fleuron⁴⁷ et le champ des tapis arméniens à dragons, est également divisé en compartiments losangés. Ces subdivisions seront brisées⁴⁸ en faveur d'une décoration libre de tout le champ. On le constate au dix-septième siècle pour les tapis arméniens.⁴⁹

Le passage dans l'enluminure persane, au quinzième siècle A.D., du réseau géométrique aux rinceaux d'arabesques, est un phénomène analogue.⁵⁰ Dans l'évolution de la reliure persane, le classique médaillon central et ses écoinçons, lesquels représentent aussi un compartimentage, ont précédé les plats à rectangle sans subdivisions, qui apparaissent aux quinzième et seizième siècles.⁵¹

La transition de cercles juxtaposés, avec motif végétal, à des rinceaux ou arabesques, est à priori logique. On y assiste en effet dans les écoinçons de deux tables de canons et ceux d'un Christ trônant, sur un manuscrit arménien du dixième siècle.⁵² Dans un manuscrit du onzième, le tympan d'une table de concordance est circonscrit par un arc qui porte des tiges circulaires à fleurons trilobés, lesquelles se distinguent peu de cercles ornés de fleurs.⁵³

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, III, fig. de la p. 300.

⁴² Voir pour le dix-huitième siècle pp. 13 et note 106.

⁴³ Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

⁴⁴ A. Sakisian, "Les Tissus royaux arméniens des Xe, XIe et XIIIe siècles," *Syria*, XVI (1935), 292-93, Fig. 1.

⁴⁵ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, viii, et K. Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts* (Bamberg, 1933), Pl. XI, 37. Cod. 1400 de St. Lazare de Venise.

⁴⁶ Sakisian, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-94, Fig. 2; et "Nouveaux documents sur les tapis arméniens," *Syria*, XVII (1936), 178.

⁴⁷ J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (Vienne, 1918), Fig. 576.

⁴⁸ J. Baltrušaitis observe: "Nous identifions le cadre

du médaillon, bien qu'il ne figure pas dans... l'oiseau d'Akhtamar (Fig. 82)." *Études sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie* (Paris, 1929), p. 52.

⁴⁹ A. Sakisian, "Les Tapis arméniens du XVe au XIXe siècle," p. 32, Figs. 4, et 6 d'une part, et 9 de l'autre.

⁵⁰ Voir pp. 72-73 et Figs. 10 et 11 de cet article.

⁵¹ Sakisian, "La Reliure persane au XVe siècle sous les Timourides," Figs. 8 et 12: Herât 1438 et 1481.

⁵² Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, p. VIII; Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, Pls. XI, 37, et XIV, 50.

⁵³ Musée d'Erivan, No. 207, photographie rapportée par J. Baltrušaitis. Ce tympan représente une scène de pêche, avec crocodiles, copiée sur celle de la reine Mlké de 902.

Les plus anciennes enluminures musulmanes, les vignettes des corans coufiques des neuvième et dixième siècles, à subdivisions géométriques et à décor inventé ou quelquefois végétal-conventionnel, donneront naissance aux enluminures en pleine page des onzième et douzième siècles.

Sur un coran de 1025 A.D. un compartimentage est obtenu par une rosace étoilée curviligne qui s'inscrit dans un rectangle, le décor étant végétal-conventionnel; ou bien un réseau géométrique rectiligne encadre des inscriptions ou des éléments végétaux stylisés (*Figs. 7 et 8*). Une autre page de ce manuscrit (*Fig. 9*), sur laquelle des rinceaux à feuilles trilobées grêles, réservées en blanc, semblent marquer une recherche de l'arabesque, est particulièrement intéressante.⁵⁴ Un siècle et demi plus tard, en 1164 A.D., on retrouve sur un coran copié à Hamadan, deux pleines pages qui s'apparentent intimement aux décorations de 1025 A.D., la première par un compartimentage en partie curviligne et un décor végétal stylisé, la seconde par un réseau géométrique rectiligne et des intervalles épigraphiques, sans parler de coins losangés.⁵⁵

Au siècle suivant, en 1237 A.D., le double frontispice du Ḥarīrī Schefer a un encadrement à animaux tels que lièvre, chevreuil, léopard, renard, au milieu de rinceaux de rūmīs bleus, sur un fond de fleurs conventionnelles or. Cette enluminure est peut-être unique, car les animaux qu'on rencontre aux quinzième, seizième et dix-septième siècles A.D., placés dans les marges,⁵⁶ appartiennent à la miniature et non à l'enluminure (*tadhhīb*). Toutefois on connaît au treizième siècle A.D. plus d'une frise d'animaux dans des rinceaux, mais incrustées en argent sur cuivre. On peut citer au Musée du Louvre une aiguière datée de Damas 1259 d'un artiste originaire de Mossoul, le Baptistère de St.-Louis, et une aiguière de 1309. Sur les deux premières pièces figurent aussi un sphinx ailé, et un griffon. Dans la céramique, des frises d'animaux et surtout des bêtes isolées qu'accompagnent des rinceaux peuvent remonter jusqu'au dixième siècle.⁵⁷

Dans le monumental coran d'Olçaitu,⁵⁸ au début du quatorzième siècle, on retrouve la même formule du compartimentage géométrique à motifs végétaux stylisés (*Fig. 10*).⁵⁹ Sur quelques pages des volumes de ce coran, notamment sur une page du *djuz* de 1311,⁶⁰ la demi-feuille à deux lobes cesse parfois de rappeler son origine végétale et apparaît à côté du type antérieur, familier depuis le onzième siècle, sous une forme fortement stylisée que les "fers des Aldes" traduisent en Occident, dans les reliures vénitiennes. Ils suffira que les octo-

⁵⁴ Une analogie curieuse existe entre ces rinceaux et ceux, contemporains, des plaques émaillées de la couronne de Constantin Monomaque (1042-55), représentant des danseuses. N. Kondakov, *Histoire et monuments des empires byzantins* (Frankfort-sur-Mein, 1892), Fig. 75.

⁵⁵ R. Ettinghausen, "A Signed and Dated Seljuq Quran," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Persian Art and Archaeol.*, IV (1935), No. 2, Figs. 1 et 2.

⁵⁶ Voir p. 8 et notes 65 et 66.

⁵⁷ G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris, 1927), II, Figs. 334 et 336; et *Musée du Louvre, l'orient musul-*

man (Paris, 1922), II, Pl. 19.62 en couleurs.

⁵⁸ Voir p. 68, note 19.

⁵⁹ Voir pour les reproductions des enluminures de ce coran, *djuz'* de 1306 A.D., Bagdad, W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914), II, Pl. 95; *djuz'* de 1310 A.D., Bagdad, Sakisian, *La Miniature persane*, Pl. XXIII, 32; *djuz'* de 1311 A.D., Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pls. 100 à 103; et enfin *djuz'* de 1313 A.D., Hamadan, G. Wiet, *Exposition d'art persan* (Le Caire, 1935), Pl. 54.

⁶⁰ Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 102.

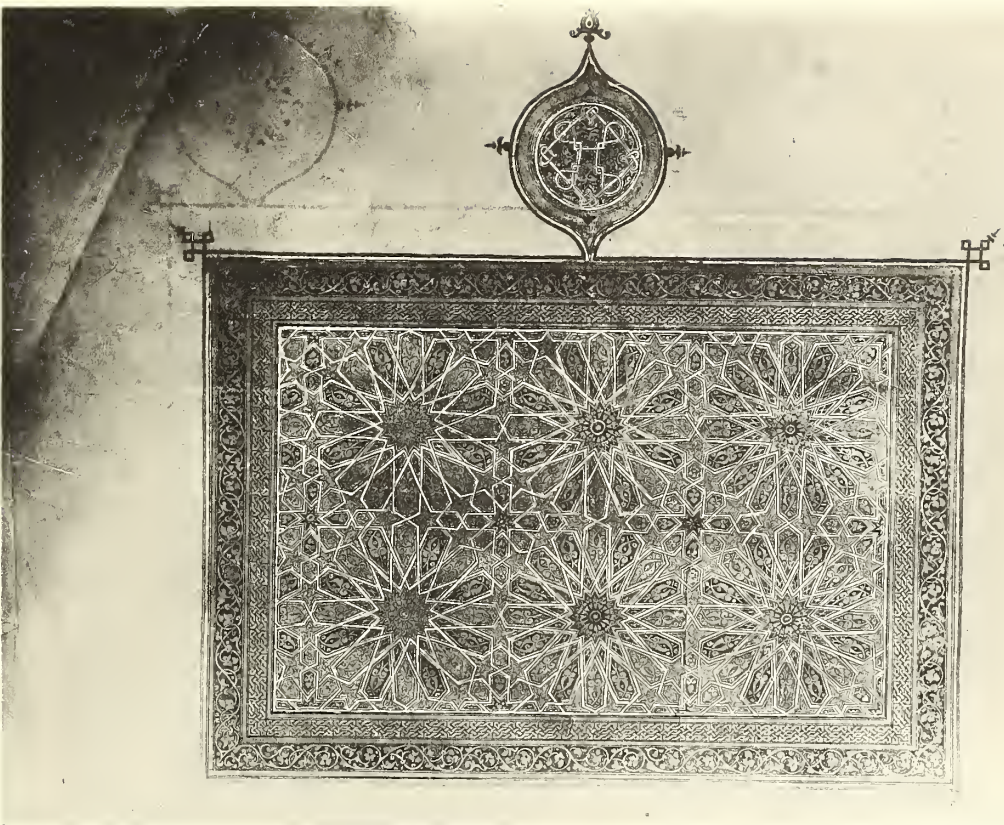


FIG. 10.—FRONTISPICE DE CORAN AU NOM D'OLÇAITU, 1310 A.D.
STAMBOUL, MUSÉE D'ART TURC ET MUSULMAN

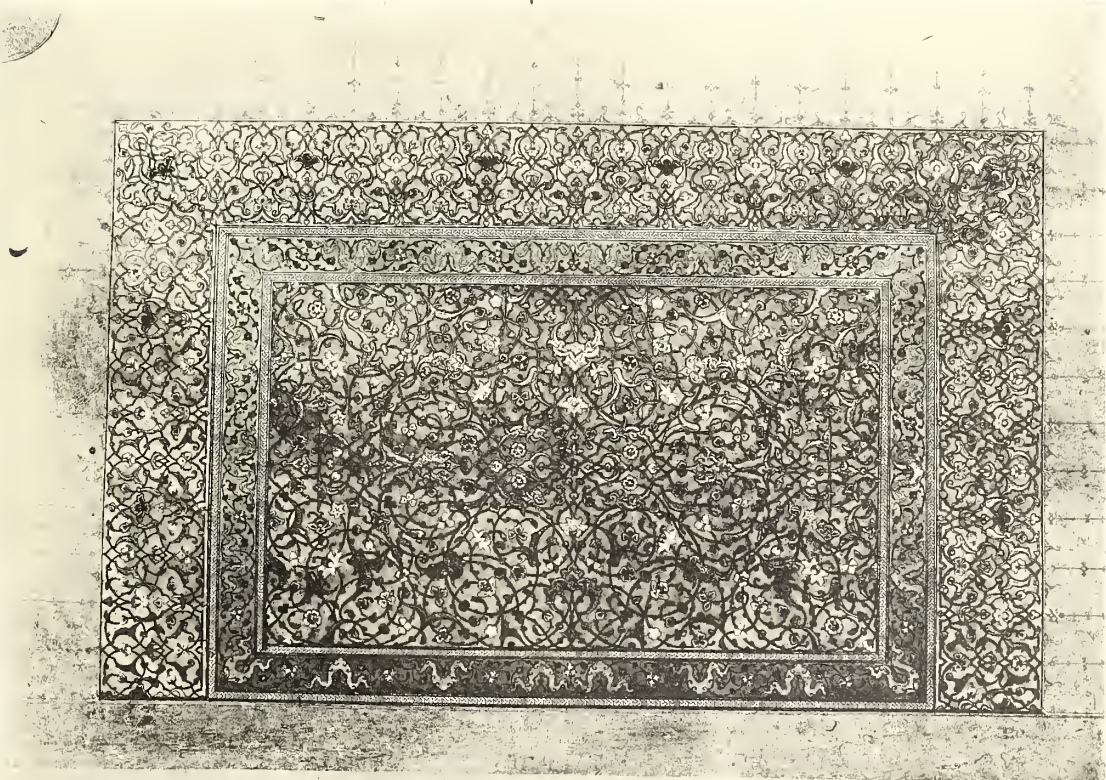
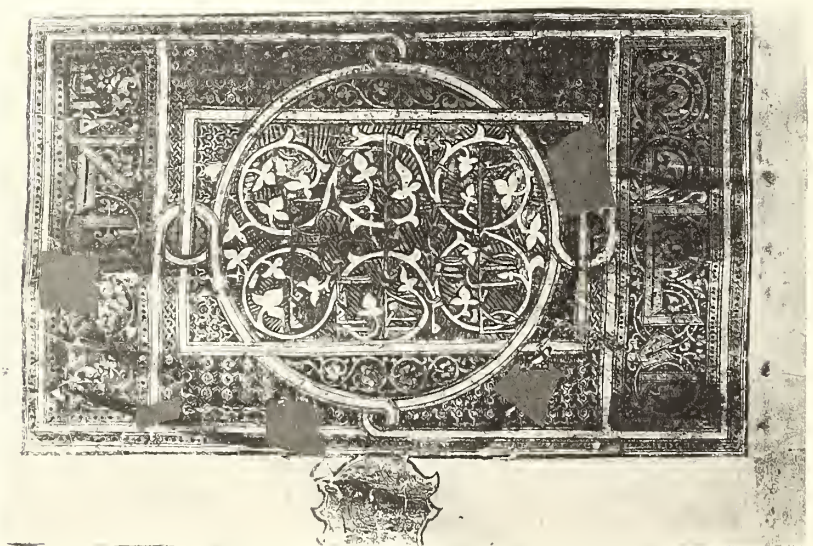
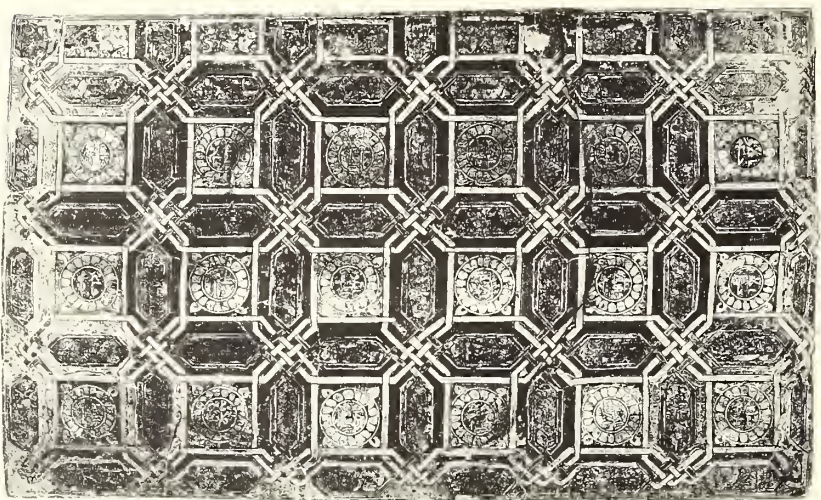
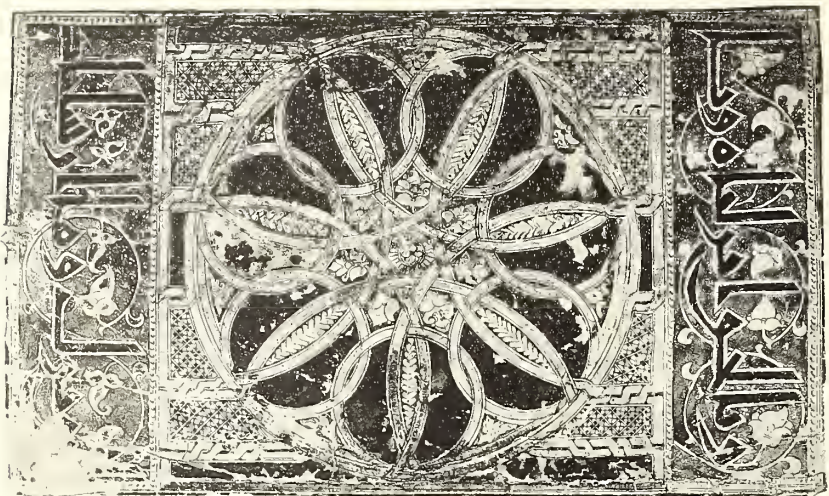


FIG. 11.—ENLUMINATION D'UN MANUSCRIT AU NOM DU PRINCE DU MOUTON
NOIR, PIR BİDÂK, CHIRAZ, 1459 A.D.
STAMBOUL, MUSÉE D'ART TURC ET MUSULMAN



FIGS. 7-9.—FRONTISPICES DE CORAN AU NOM D'UN PRINCE ȘULAHIDE DU YÉMEN, 1025 AD. STAMBOUL, MUSÉE D'ART TURC ET MUSULMAN

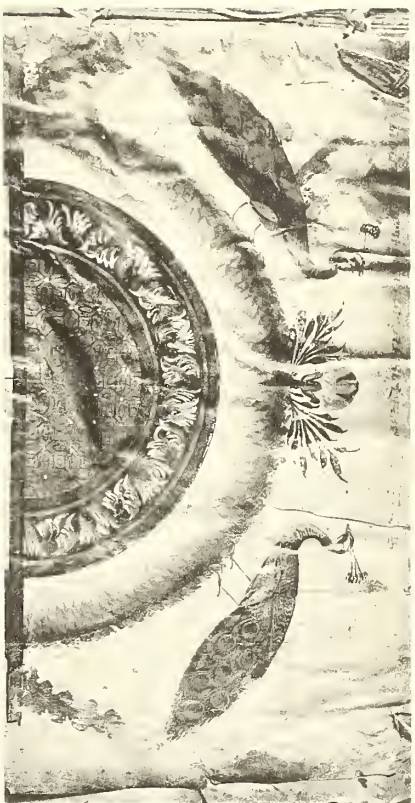


FIG. 3.—PAONS D'APRÈS L'ÉVANGILE DE 989 A.D.
ETCHMIADZIN, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ÉTAT



FIG. 5.—ENIUMINURE D'ÉVANGILE PAR THOROS ROSLYN, CLICHÉ. MILIEU DU
TREIZIÈME SIÈCLE A.D. ETCHMIADZIN, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ÉTAT

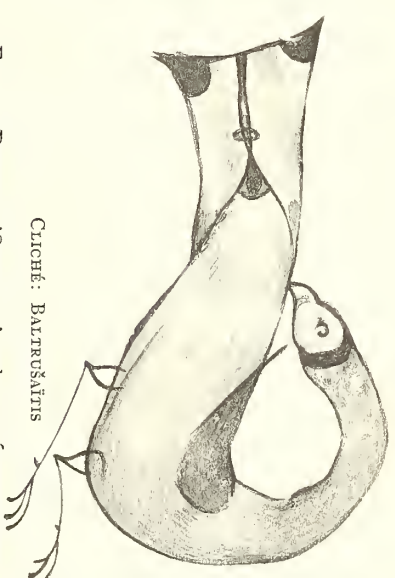


FIG. 4.—DESSIN D'OISEAU D'APRÈS UN ÉVANGILE DE
1018 A.D. ETCHMIADZIN, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ÉTAT

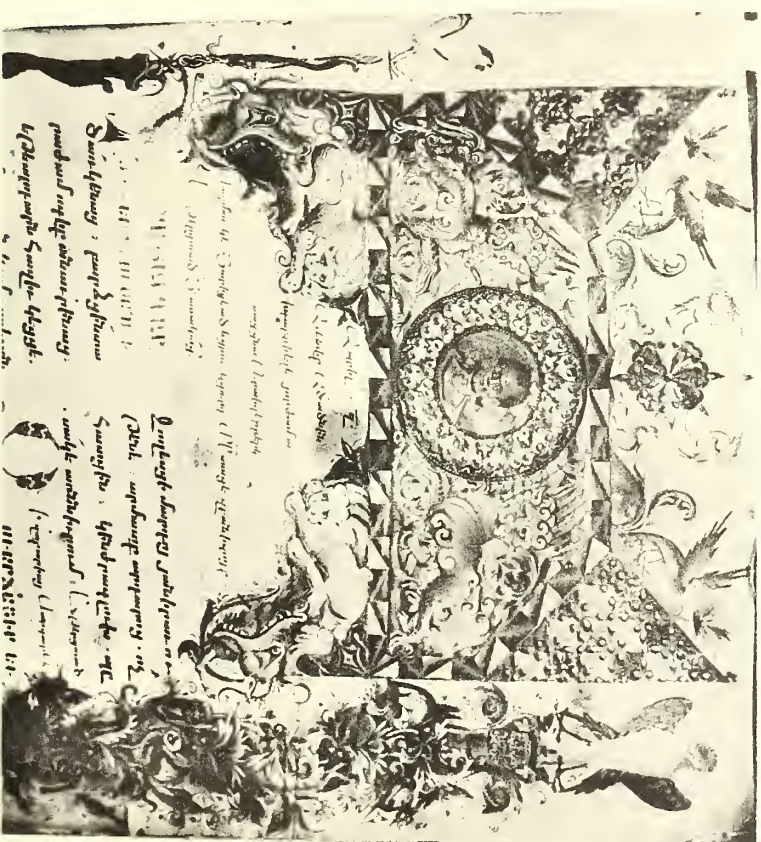


FIG. 6.—FRONTON DU MISSEL DU PRINCE HÉTHOUM, CLICHÉ, 1286 A.D.
ETCHMIADZIN, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ÉTAT

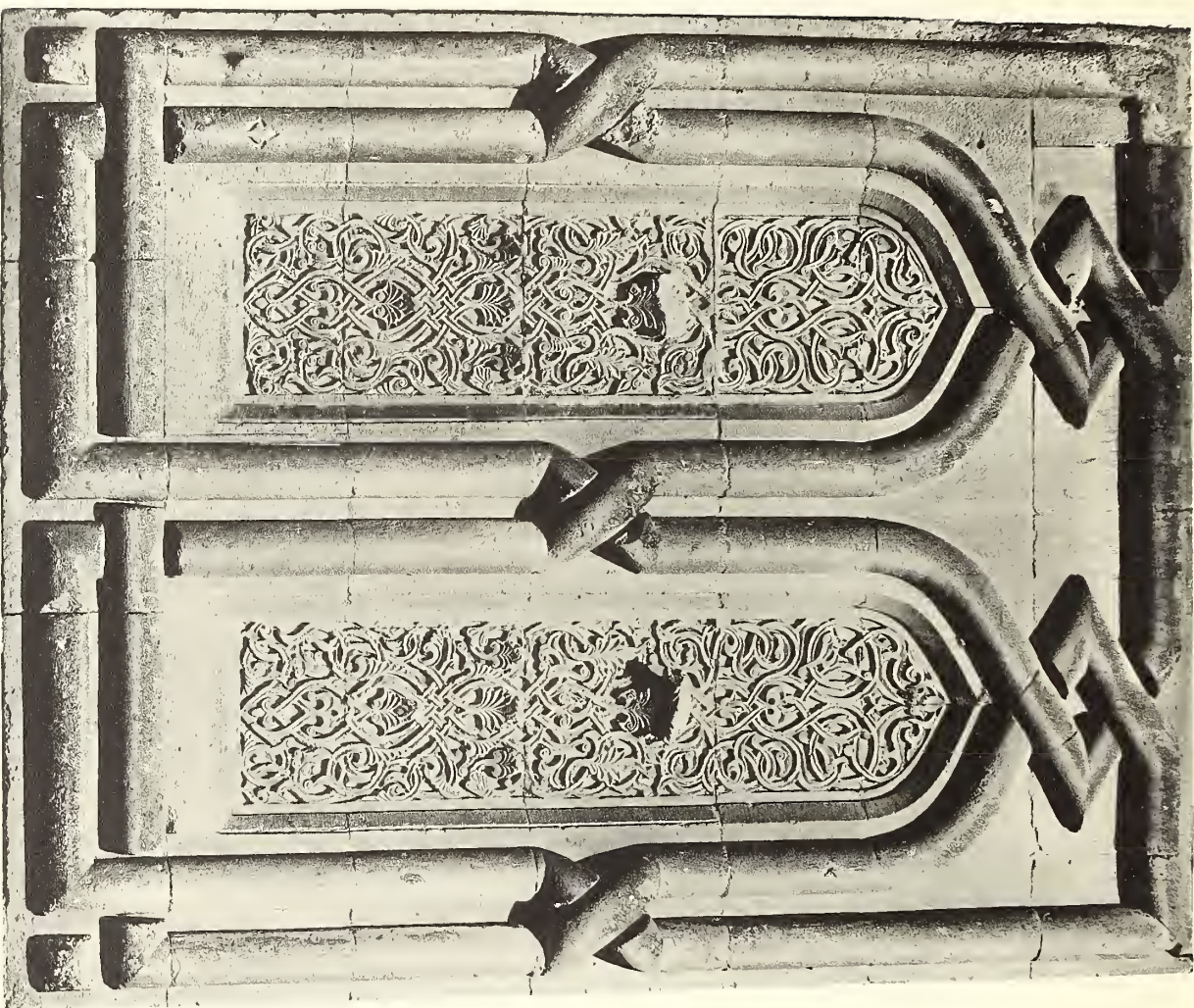


FIG. 1.—Soubassement du Minaret, Medrese Indje Minareli, Konya, 1251 A.D.

Cliché: SOLARIAN

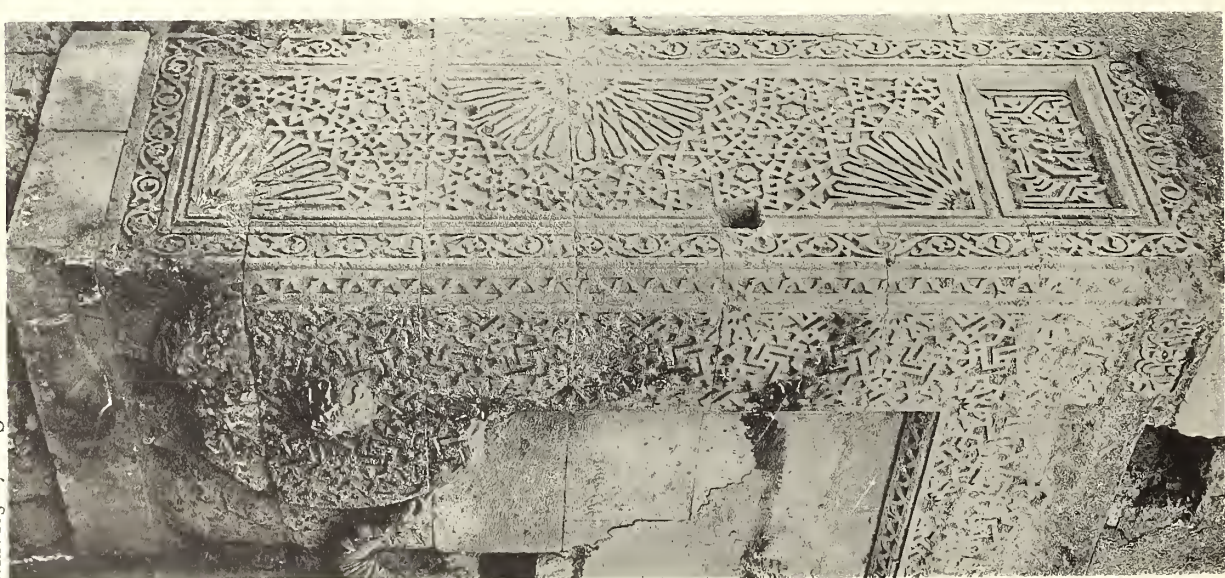


FIG. 2.—Nalindji Mesjid, Konya, Treizième Siècle A.D.

Cliché: SOLARIAN

gones, ornés d'arabesques de ce type et de nœuds, soient brisés pour obtenir à Hérat, au siècle suivant, l'enluminure en pleine page de 1434 A.D.⁶¹ Celle de 1459 A.D. au nom du prince Pīr Būdāk de Chiraz,⁶² est aussi à rinceaux compliqués et symétriques, principalement de rūmīs à deux lobes ou flamboyants (*Fig. 11*). Ce sont là des chefs-d'œuvre de science décorative et de bon goût qui marquent l'apogée de cet art en Perse.

Sous l'influence chinoise apparaissent au quinzième siècle A.D. dans les possessions timourides des dessins décoratifs avec motifs animaux, voire humains, dont les éléments floraux sont à tendances naturalistes marquées. L'Anthologie du British Museum de 1411 A.D. en offre des spécimens caractéristiques.⁶³ Ces tendances florales naturalistes qui se traduisent sur l'enluminure de Hérat de 1434 A.D., par un encadrement de fleurs et de feuilles alternant sur fond noir⁶⁴ se retrouvent souvent au quinzième siècle A.D., dans l'école de Hérat, et au siècle suivant, tant en Transoxiane que dans la Perse séfévie. Les marges à animaux, et quelquefois à personnages, de Hérat au début du seizième siècle A.D., celles de Tabriz au seizième,⁶⁵ de même que celles de l'école indo-persane au dix-septième⁶⁶ sont toutefois, malgré leur rôle décoratif, des miniatures, et non des enluminures dans le sens musulman. Je rattache à la même tendance un type spécial d'enluminures de la fin du quatorzième, et du quinzième siècle A.D., caractérisé par des fonds gros bleu et blanc et un décor de branchages naturalistes or, à fleurettes.⁶⁷ Une page d'un manuscrit de Chiraz de 1420 A.D., publié par E. Kühnel, en donne une idée exacte.⁶⁸

En somme, le caractère de l'ordonnance musulmane a été d'abord géométrique, le décor proprement dit, qui était végétal, passant souvent au second plan. Les fleurs et les feuilles, conventionnelles jusqu'au quatorzième siècle A.D., sont remplacées par une demi-feuille stylisée, tandis que le réseau géométrique s'assouplit en tiges d'arabesques.⁶⁹ La décoration interlinéaire, exceptionnellement lisible, de quelques pages du coran d'Olçaitu,⁷⁰ donne une idée très exacte de la flore conventionnelle en usage dans l'enluminure musulmane depuis le onzième siècle A.D.

La demi-feuille stylisée, qui se rencontre déjà sur les fleurons des marges des corans coufiques,⁷¹ et qui à partir du quinzième siècle A.D. orne la plupart du temps les tiges d'arabesques, est connue au seizième siècle A.D. de Mīrzā Ḥaidar, la source la plus autorisée sur les artistes timourides du livre, sous le nom significatif de rūmī, qui ne peut avoir que le sens de byzantin.

⁶¹ Martin, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 242.

⁶² Sakisian, "La Reliure persane au XV^e siècle sous les Turcomans," *Artibus Asiae*, VII (1937), 213-15.

⁶³ Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 239. Voir aussi des marges animales très chinoises, de la même époque dans Sakisian, "Persian Drawings," p. 59 et Pl. IV, B.

⁶⁴ Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 242.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Pls. 250-51, et Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pls. 68 et 73, pour Hérat au début du seizième; Martin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 252-54 pour Tabriz pendant les années 1539-42.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Pls. 211 et 212.

⁶⁷ Un manuscrit de 1398, de Behbéhan, et un autre de 1436, dont le calligraphe est de Touster (Suse), ont

tous deux des frontispices dans le même style. Les pleines pages enluminées du second sont remarquables. Musée d'Art Turc et Musulman, Nos. 1561 et 1775.

⁶⁸ E. Kühnel, "Die Baysonghurhandschrift der Islami-schen Kunstabteilung," *Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsamm-lungen*, LII (1931), Fig. 3.

⁶⁹ Dans la sculpture sur bois un beau panneau daté de 974 A.D., au nom d'un prince būyid, est à inscription coufique et bandes et écoinçons de rūmī. Wiet, *Exposi-tion d'art persan*, Pl. 39.

⁷⁰ Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pls. 96-98. Bagdad, 1306.

⁷¹ B. Moritz, *Arabic Paleography* (Le Caire, 1905), Pls. 4 et 34.

Il emploie l'expression "rinseau de rūmīs"⁷² en parlant de l'enlumineur Maḥmūd Mudḥahīb⁷³ dans un passage que Sir Thomas Arnold a sauté dans sa traduction.⁷⁴ Evliyā Čelebī au dix-septième siècle A.D. fait usage du même terme,⁷⁵ qui s'est conservé dans ce sens précis jusqu'à nos jours, chez les enlumineurs turcs de Stamboul.

C'est donc dans l'acanthé déformée byzantine qu'il faut chercher l'origine directe de cette demi-feuille.⁷⁶

Lorsqu'on envisage l'évolution du schéma, du décor et de la couleur dans des branches d'art dont le développement est parallèle mais qui mettent en œuvre des matières différentes, comme l'enluminure, les tapis et la reliure en Perse, la question se pose de savoir quelle est celle dont l'évolution, plus accélérée, est suivie par les autres.

Je suis porté à croire que c'est la technique la plus souple qui modifie la première ses modèles. Dans le cas visé, les tapis ont dû suivre les innovations de l'enluminure et de la reliure.⁷⁷

La décoration arménienne tient dans l'art oriental une place plus grande et plus originale qu'on ne le pense d'ordinaire. Ainsi W. Bode et E. Kühnel reconnaissent que les tapis arméniens à décor animal ou arborescent sont antérieurs aux persans du même type.⁷⁸

Il faut se libérer des suggestions du mot "arabesque" dans sa double acception d'ornement géométrique et végétal et se placer sur le terrain des œuvres relevant des deux disciplines.

On doit une belle analyse de l'entrelacs arménien à J. Baltrušaitis, qui le qualifie de travail de "géomètre" et d'"orfèvre" et souligne son caractère analytique.⁷⁹ Il constate d'autre part l'évolution rigoureusement organique⁸⁰ de ce décor, ce qui implique un développement spontané, et ne devrait pas laisser place à des apports étrangers.

L'encadrement géométrique d'une fenêtre de la cathédrale d'Ani, de la fin extrême du dixième siècle (989-1001 A.D.), est un document capital (*Fig. 12*) à raison de son type évolué et de sa date. D'une extrême pureté, à lignes courbes dominantes, il se distingue par son caractère harmonieux et sa richesse. Van Berchem, en parlant des beaux mihrabs en bois, à décor géométrique de Saiyida Ruḳaiya et de Saiyida Nafīsa, œuvres égyptiennes du milieu du dou-

⁷² Bend-rūmī, littéralement "rūmīs liés." L'enlumineur persan Ṭāhirzade Hussein, fixé à Stamboul, se servait de l'expression "bend" au sujet d'un motif d'"arabesques" qu'il venait de dessiner devant moi (1916).

⁷³ A. Sakisian, "Maḥmūd Mudḥahīb, miniaturiste, enlumineur et calligraphe," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), 338, en rectifiant dans le dernier paragraphe *page lumineuse au frontispice*, en *page liminaire ou frontispice*.

⁷⁴ A. Sakisian, "Esthétique et terminologie persanes," *Journ. asiatique*, CCXXVI (1935), 145-46.

⁷⁵ Evliyā Čelebi, *Livre des voyages*, II (en turc), 15, 75, et 249, au sujet de monuments de Brusa, Sinope (Sinüb) et Tabriz.

⁷⁶ N. Kondakov qualifie de "spécialement byzantin"

des rinceaux de rūmīs et de ses composés, au sujet desquels il se sert de l'expression "palmette d'acanthé de type byzantin." *Op. cit.*, Pl. 19, p. 304. Toutefois pour une décoration à rūmīs caractérisés à trois lobes, le même auteur dit: "Cet ornement très en faveur au X^e et au XI^e siècle, est d'origine persane." *Ibid.*, Pl. 16, p. 300.

⁷⁷ On peut suivre pendant des siècles les modifications du médaillon central des reliures. Voir A. Sakisian, "Les Tapis de Perse à la lumière des arts du livre," *Artibus Asiae*, V (1935), 228-32.

⁷⁸ Bode et Kühnel, *op. cit.*, préface et pp. 38, 43 et 59.

⁷⁹ Baltrušaitis, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

zième siècle A.D., fait allusion à des recherches qui ont dû les précéder, comme les sculptures en pierre des minarets d'al-Hākim.⁸¹ Ces minarets qui “traduisent des recherches” sont de 1003 A.D., or à Ani, à cette date, nous sommes en présence d'une splendide réalisation. G. Marçais, qui cite⁸² Van Berchem, ajoute qu'on est loin de posséder en Berbérie des documents aussi caractéristiques. On ne peut donc pas songer à la Berbérie pour expliquer la fenêtre de la cathédrale d'Ani. Au palais des Bagratides, du dixième siècle A.D., à Ani, on peut voir aussi des entrelacs géométriques rectilignes, sur les montants d'une cheminée,⁸³ sans parler d'une combinaison d'octogones et de carrés dans un tympan, sur l'évangile de 902 A.D. de la reine Mlké.⁸⁴

L'arabesque *florale*, que je préfère appeler végétale, et qui est principalement, sinon exclusivement, à rūmīs, serait une “formule spécifiquement musulmane,” aussi en Arménie-même, dans les provinces occidentales, sous l'influence seldjoukide, l'ornement des manuscrits, comme la Bible d'Erznga (1269), aurait un caractère musulman.⁸⁵ Le champ de frontons enluminés de ce manuscrit⁸⁶ est en effet recouvert de rinceaux de rūmīs (qu'on appelle improprement palmettes et demi-palmettes), qui se retrouvent avec plus de caractère et le même emploi décoratif sur un évangile de 1201 A.D.,⁸⁷ de la même région.⁸⁸ Or je ne connais pas aux douzième et treizième siècles, d'enluminure musulmane à mettre en parallèle avec l'évangile de 1201, pas plus qu'avec celui de 1269, dont les rūmīs sont plus évolués. Si des panneaux de ce type ont existé comme revêtements architecturaux musulmans, il est difficile de supposer que les enlumineurs arméniens les aient transposés, quand ils ne reproduisent pas les réalisations géométriques sculptées arméniennes des dixième–douzième siècles (*Figs. 12–14*) et conservent à leur art un caractère autonome.

Il y a plus, six manuscrits qui s'échelonnent de 1283 à 1350 A.D. sont décorés de rinceaux de rūmīs d'un même type, qui en font une famille se rattachant à l'évangile de 1201 et à la Bible de 1269. Ici les rinceaux sont plus serrés et plus touffus et le motif lui-même, de vigoureux ou d'élégant qu'il était se complique, tandis que l'ensemble devient plus riche.⁸⁹ C'est à une évolution logique et continue dont 1201, 1259, 1283 et 1331 sont les principales étapes que l'on assiste, et il est digne de remarque que ce style, fin treizième–milieu quatorzième, s'étend de la Cilicie à la Grande Arménie, de Sulṭānīya en Perse à Sourghate en Crimée.⁹⁰

Or ce type de rūmī ne se retrouve pas davantage dans l'enluminure musulmane contemporaine. Si on considère spécialement le genre de rinceaux qui se sont acclimatés dans l'art

⁸¹ S. Flury, *Die Ornamente der Hakim und Ashar-Moschee* (Heidelberg, 1912), Pls. XXIX, XXX et XXXI.

⁸² G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman, L'Architecture du IX^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1926), p. 178.

⁸³ Baltrušaitis, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI, 27.

⁸⁴ Bodourian, *op. cit.*, première planche en couleurs.

⁸⁵ Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 et 87.

⁸⁶ F. Mourad, *Apocalypse de Jean* (Jerusalem, 1905–11), Pls. B. E. F. G. (en arménien).

⁸⁷ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, I, frontispice, et II, pl. en regard de la p. 8.

⁸⁸ Cet évangile de la collection Sevadjian a été copié dans le canton de Taranaghyatz, qui correspond au moderne Kémakh, à l'ouest d'Erznga.

⁸⁹ Voir le manuscrit de Melazguerd (Abahounik, Grande Arménie) de 1331, Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, 15 et 137, et celui de Sourghate (Crimée) de 1350, *ibid.*, p. 211.

⁹⁰ Un psautier royal de 1283 et un manuscrit de 1323 sont de Cilicie; un manuscrit de 1331 et un autre enluminé au quatorzième siècle par Thoros de Daron, de la Grande Arménie; celui de 1313–49, de Sulṭānīya, enfin

musulman, au point de se confondre avec lui, il en existe déjà une réalisation dans l'arc d'un fronton d'évangile du dixième siècle,⁹¹ et un manuscrit de 1066 en offre un autre exemple.⁹²

Quant au motif même de ces rinceaux, la demi-feuille stylisée, le *rūmī*, on le rencontre isolé sur les plus anciens manuscrits arméniens, tels l'évangile de la reine Mlké⁹³ de 902 A.D., celui d'Etchmiadzin de 989⁹⁴ et le codex 697 des Mékhitaristes de Vienne,⁹⁵ à côté de feuilles d'acanthes, comme dans le manuscrit d'Etchmiadzin de 989 (*Fig. 3*). Si une origine byzantine est probable, il ne faut pas perdre de vue le fait de l'existence au cœur même de l'Arménie, de monuments comme le temple romain de Karni, remontant au commencement de l'ère chrétienne et resté debout jusqu'au seizième siècle, avec sa décoration d'acanthes.⁹⁶

Si on passe des rinceaux à *rūmīs*, aux rinceaux naturalistes, la vigne, indépendamment de toute signification symbolique, a dû de tout temps tenter les décorateurs avec l'opposition de ses feuilles, de ses grappes et de la ligne capricieuse de ses sarments.

Des rinceaux à feuilles de vigne et grappes naturalistes se rencontrent sculptés sur l'église de Mren (Arménie) de 630-40 A.D., comme on peut les distinguer sur l'arc qui encadre deux anges, remarquables par leurs ailes, qui descendent jusqu'à terre.⁹⁷ Deux ceps sont traités dans l'évangile de la reine Mlké de 902,⁹⁸ dans un sentiment décoratif qui en fait des arabesques. La frise sculptée de l'église d'Akhtamar, bâtie par l'époux de la reine Mlké, le roi Kakig Ardzrouni, de 905 à 921, a un caractère plutôt pittoresque avec ses ceps de vigne, ses personnages et ses animaux,⁹⁹ quoique Strzygowski y voie, comme à Mshattā, le symbole mazdéen du Hvarenah: la puissance et la majesté divines.

En 1155 A.D. soit vers la fin de la période fatimide, le mihrab en bois sculpté de Saiyida Ruḳaiya présente des panneaux à rinceaux symétriques se développant d'un vase et qui portent

celui de 1350 de Crimée. C'est la spécification de *capitale*, appliquée à la ville de Sulṭāniya, qui situe le manuscrit entre 1313 et 1349 environ. D'après une source musulmane "sa population est mêlée d'une foule d'étrangers de race, de religion et de langue," au nombre desquels elle devait compter une colonie arménienne. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique . . . de la Perse . . .* (Paris, 1861), au mot "Sulthanyeh."

Voir pour les reproductions d'après le 1283: H. Haheshian, *Un Psautier du roi Léon III de 1283* (Vienne, 1922), Figs. 2-7 (en arménien); le 1313-49, Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, 125; le 1323, *ibid.*, pp. 101, 153, 155, 171; le 1331, *ibid.*, pp. 15 et 37; le manuscrit du quatorzième siècle, *ibid.*, I, p. v et 15; enfin le 1350, *ibid.*, II, p. 211.

⁹¹ Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI, 36.

⁹² Mgr. K. Hovsepian, *Les Khaghpaguian ou Brochian* (Vagharchabad, 1928), Fig. 74 (en arménien). Ce manuscrit, quoique exécuté à Sébaste, est l'œuvre d'un enlumineur de la région de l'Ararat, qui a suivi dans cette ville le roi Sénékérîm, comme l'indiquent les mémoriaux, et représente, en conséquence, l'art de la Grande Arménie.

⁹³ Bodourian, *op. cit.*, 5^e pl., en couleurs; la même page en noir dans Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, 341 et Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, 4.

⁹⁴ F. Macler, *L'Evangile arménien d'Etchmiadzin de 989*, édition phototypique, 1920, fol. 1 v. et 6 r; les mêmes pages dans Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV, 11 et 13. Voir pour cet évangile S. Der Nersessian, "The Date of the Initial Miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel," *Art Bull.*, XV (1933), No. 4.

⁹⁵ Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, Pl. III, 6, et IV, 7.

⁹⁶ N. Bouniatoff, *Temple païen à côté du palais de Tiridate dans la citadelle de Garni* (Erivan, 1933), notamment les Figs. 32, 33, 56, 58, et 120 (en arménien, russe et français); et Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, pl. en regard de la p. 172, et notice 101, p. 335.

⁹⁷ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, fig. de la p. 31 et notice No. 19 de la p. 272.

⁹⁸ Bodourian, *op. cit.*, première planche en couleurs.

⁹⁹ J. Strzygowski, *L'Ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, étude préliminaire de Gabriel Millet (Paris, 1936), Fig. 92.

des grappes dressées, des feuilles et des cornets rappelant la corne d'abondance (*Fig. 15*).¹⁰⁰ Ces arabesques que Migeon qualifie de "baccifères,"¹⁰¹ n'y reconnaissant pas de grappes, sont exceptionnelles. En regard de ces panneaux, on peut placer la croix tombale de 1017 du couvent de Dathev, à grappes caractérisées et à feuilles stylisées linéaires (*Fig. 16*).

Quelle est l'importance relative dans l'art musulman de la stylisation et du naturalisme pour rendre la flore?

Sous le Califat arabe de Bagdad, au treizième siècle A.D., c'est au triomphe de la stylisation qu'on assiste avec les arbres et les plantes. Elle s'étend même aux ombres.¹⁰² Si on prend l'art persan comme représentatif, du quatorzième au dix-huitième siècle A.D., de l'art musulman, qui effectivement a été à son école, ce sont des tendances alternantes de stylisation et de naturalisme que l'on constate, les premières étant fondamentales et les secondes se manifestant sous des influences étrangères, notamment celles de la Chine au quinzième siècle A.D. et de l'Occident au dix-huitième. On peut même parler pour cette dernière époque, en Perse comme en Turquie, de réalisme avec emploi des ombres. Le décor animal des reliures du quinzième siècle, lequel s'associe à une végétation inspirée par la nature, représente la même tendance.¹⁰³ Il faut voir aussi dans l'adoption en Turquie, au milieu du seizième siècle A.D., de motifs floraux naturalistes, succédant à une flore stylisée importée de Perse, une influence de l'esprit de la Renaissance italienne.¹⁰⁴

Par contre, dans l'enluminure arménienne, la flore naturaliste caractérise les premiers siècles. Si plus tard, surtout aux treizième et quatorzième siècles, les rinceaux stylisés tiennent une plus grande place, la flore à tendances naturalistes se maintient. Ainsi sur la Bible d'Erznga de 1269, dont les rinceaux d'arabesques lui ont fait attribuer un caractère musulman, un fronton est surmonté d'une végétation naturaliste qui sert de fond à deux perruches affrontées,¹⁰⁵ et en 1313, un autre portique, toujours enluminé dans la Grande Arménie, est à deux cerfs, opposés sur un fond de rinceaux naturalistes. Toutefois au dix-huitième siècle A.D., le parallélisme est certain entre la décoration de fleurs réalistes des reliures laquées persanes, et les tables de concordance à décor floral d'après nature de l'évangile d'Eghin de 1739. Mais ici

¹⁰⁰ Ces cornes d'abondance qui donnent naissance à des feuilles stylisées se rencontrent en Cilicie, en 1193 sur la table de concordance d'un évangile, et en 1262 sur le frontispice d'un autre évangile, copié par Thoros Roslyn. Der Nersessian, *Les Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Pl. XVIII, 40, et Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, p. X. Des cornets analogues d'où sort une tige se retrouvent en Égypte sur une dalle de marbre provenant d'un collège du quatorzième siècle, dont la décoration générale est très iranienne. G. Wiet, *Album du Musée Arabe du Caire* (Le Caire, 1930), Pl. 8.

¹⁰¹ Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, I, 311.

¹⁰² Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰³ Au quatorzième siècle A.D. le décor des reliures est inventé, au quinzième naturaliste, aux seizième et dix-septième, stylisé, pour revenir au dix-huitième à la nature par une interprétation naturaliste des fleurs. Voir A. Sakisian, "La Reliure persane sous les Séfévis," *Artibus Asiae*, VIII (1938), sous presse.

¹⁰⁴ G. Migeon et A. Sakisian, *La Céramique d'Asie Mineure et de Constantinople du XIII^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1923), p. 18, et A. Sakisian, "Les Questions de Kotahya et de Damas dans la céramique de Turquie," *Journ. asiatique*, CCXXVIII (1936), 268-69.

¹⁰⁵ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, planche en regard de la p. 32.

encore, à la différence de la décoration persane, des animaux tels que lions, perdrix et singes se mêlent aux fleurs et aux plantes.¹⁰⁶

Le caractère et le rôle décoratifs des lettres arabes—anguleuses et sévères dans le coufique, élégantes et souples dans le sulus, trapues dans le naskhī et gracieuses dans le nasta'liq—sont exceptionnels. Le premier de ces styles calligraphiques a même fourni un thème purement ornemental par l'emploi, en guise d'encadrement ou de bordure, d'un groupe de caractères répété, n'offrant aucun sens. C'est particulièrement le cas aux quatorzième¹⁰⁷ et quinzième siècles A.D. pour les bordures des tapis persans; les hastes à entrelacs tenant une grande place au cours du quinzième.¹⁰⁸

Très souvent c'est une inscription dans l'un ou l'autre de ces styles qui joue un rôle décoratif. Dans l'enluminure, les marges à grotesques d'une page de *Shāh-Nāma* du quinzième siècle A.D., portent dans un cartouche le titre de l'ouvrage en coufique, avec une recherche visible de symétrie du plus bel effet; et sur le frontispice d'un coran persan du même siècle, une inscription coufique réalise un cadre rectangulaire de beaucoup de style.¹⁰⁹ A des époques plus hautes, un plat de Samarkand du dixième siècle A.D., par conséquent d'époque sāmānide, dont le marli porte une inscription coufique, est du plus grand caractère.¹¹⁰ Les plus anciens tapis musulmans qui nous soient parvenus, ceux de Konya, qu'on attribue au treizième siècle A.D., sont à bordure stylisée coufique, presque réduite aux hampes rigides des lettres.¹¹¹ Le cénotaphe en bois de 1251 du *Shāikh* Nadjm al-Dīn Aḥmed ibn Mas'ūd au turbé de Sa'id Maḥmūd Ḥairānī à Aḳ Shehir, présente un exemple de décoration exclusivement épigraphique, en sulus et naskhī, sur fond de rinceaux stylisés (*Fig. 17*).¹¹²

Un essai curieux est celui qui se traduit, sur cuivre sinon sur papier, par des têtes humaines qui terminent les hastes des lettres. Une aiguère en cuivre gravé, au Musée du Louvre, du treizième siècle A.D., porte deux frises d'inscriptions de ce type.¹¹³ Cette tentative d'animer les lettres, peut-être à l'instar des caractères anthropomorphes de l'Orient chrétien, ne devait pas être conforme à l'esprit musulman, car il n'a pas eu de suite. À une basse époque, il existe cependant des exemples, non plus de lettres, mais d'inscriptions entières ou de noms, qui affectent une forme figurée, comme celle d'un oiseau.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, III, pls. en regard des pp. 262 et 250.

¹⁰⁷ K. Erdmann reproduit une peinture de Sienne de la fin du quatorzième qui copie fidèlement une bordure coufique stylisée de l'époque dans "Orientalische Tier-teppiche auf Bildern des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, L (1929), 261, Fig. 22.

¹⁰⁸ Voir pour ces bordures Sakisian, "Les Tapis de Perse à la lumière des arts du livre," pp. 11-13.

¹⁰⁹ Martin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 241 et 264, collection Gulbenkian. Le coran a pu appartenir à Sultan Bāyazīd, mais c'est une œuvre persane comme l'indique le style de la calligraphie "sulus" du texte et une traduction

interlinéaire persane. Voir *ibid.*, Pls. 266 et 267.

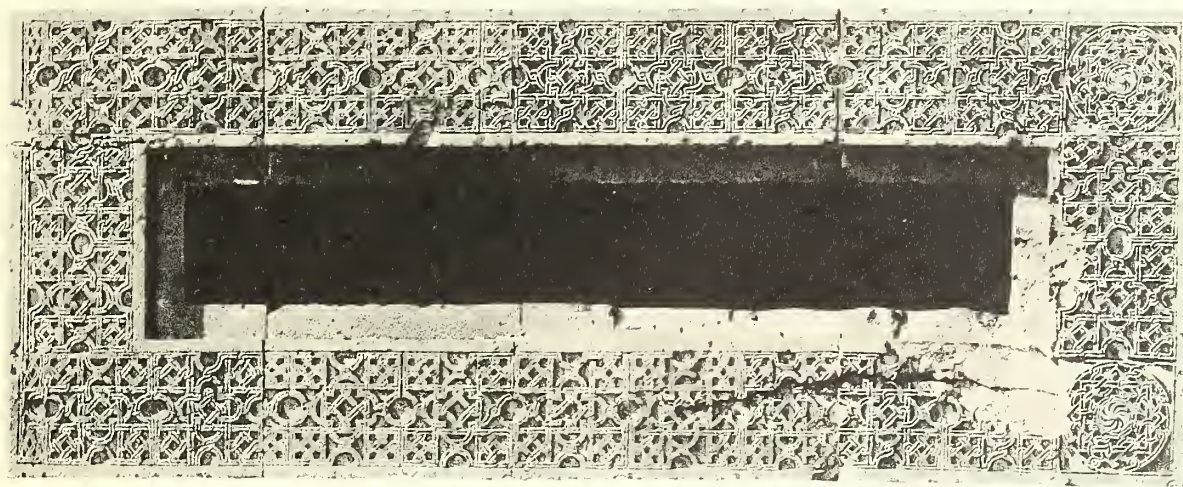
¹¹⁰ Migeon, *op. cit.*, II, Fig. 326.

¹¹¹ Bode et Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Figs. 60 et 61.

¹¹² Musée d'art turc et musulman de Stamboul, No. 1163. Cette photographie ayant été prise à Aḳ Shehir, on voit sur la caisse les chiffons votifs qui témoignent de la piété populaire.

¹¹³ Migeon, *Musée du Louvre, l'orient musulman*, I, 21, No. 70, et Pl. 23.

¹¹⁴ Le Musée de Činili Kiosk à Stamboul possède un basmala en forme d'échassier de 1604 A.D. et une seconde inscription de 1691 A.D. qui figure un navire à voile. Voir deux autres exemples dans Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pl. E et p. 210.



CLICHÉ: TORAMANIAN, D'APRÈS BALTRUŠAITIS

FIG. 12—ENCADREMENT D'UNE FENÊTRE DE LA CATHÉDRALE
ĀNĪ, 989-1001 A.D.

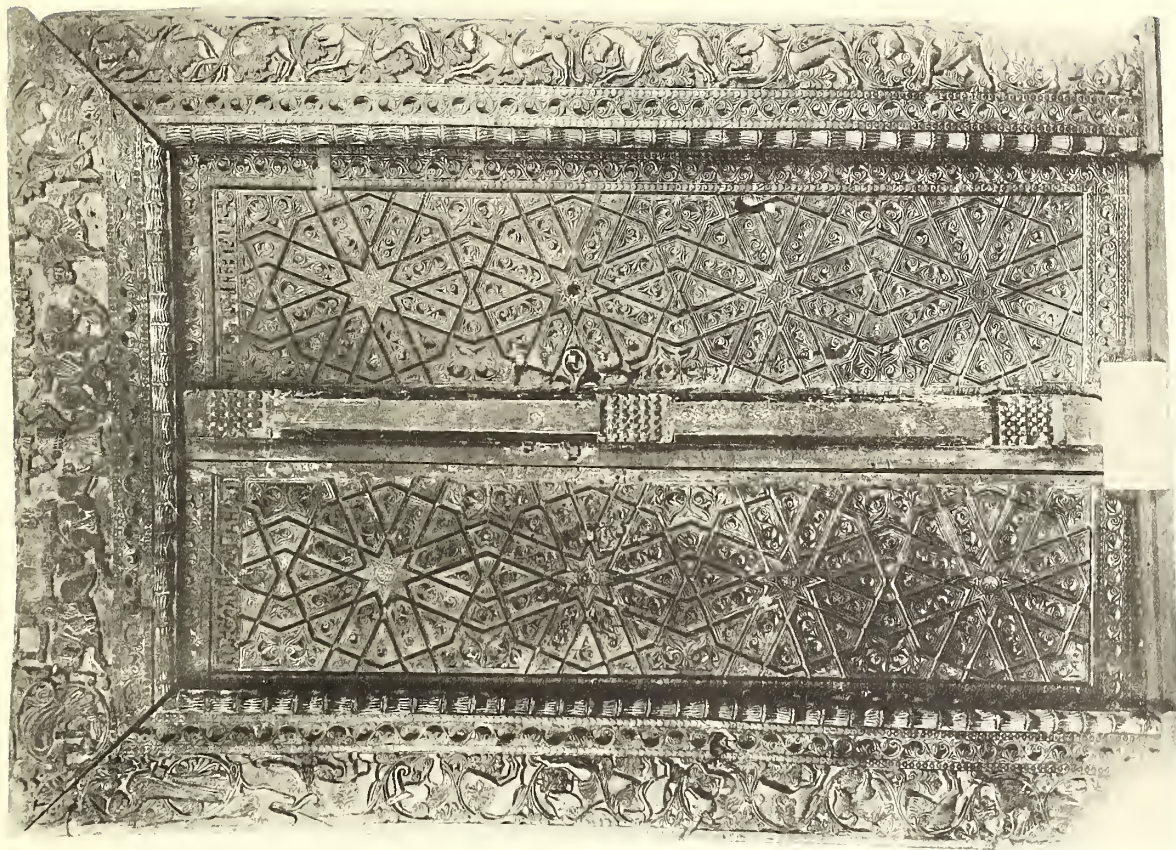
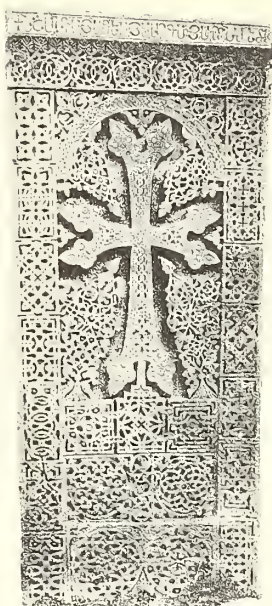


FIG. 13—PORTE EN BOIS SCULPTÉE, MOUCH, 1134 A.D.
ERIVAN, MUSÉE D'ÉTAT



D'APRÈS MACLER
FIG. 14—STÈLE TOMBALE
SANAHIN, 1187 A.D.



FIG. 15—PANNEAU, 1154-60 A.D.
LE CAIRE. MUSÉE ARABE



D'APRÈS TCHOBANIAN
FIG. 16—STÈLE TOMBALE, DATHEV, 1017 A.D.



FIG. 17—CÉNOTAPHE EN BOIS, AK-SHEHIR, 1251 A.D.
STAMBOUL, MUSÉE D'ART TURC ET MUSULMAN

CLICHÉ: SOLAKIAN

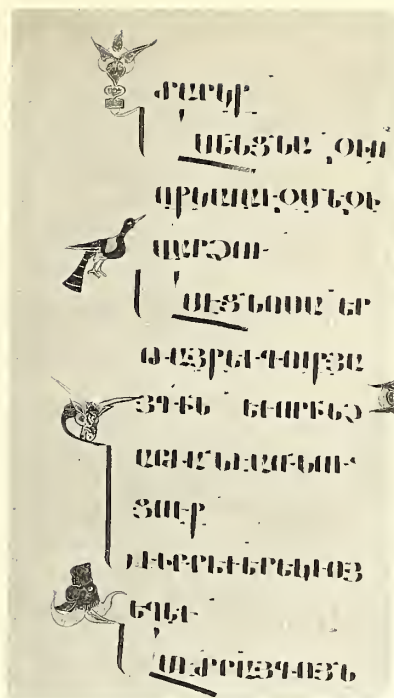
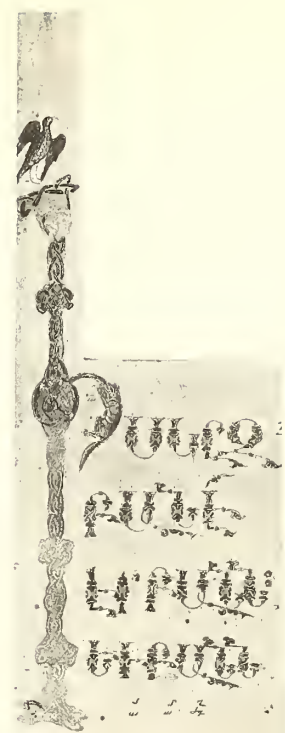


FIG. 18—ÉVANGILE DU ROI KAKIG
KARS, 1026-64 A.D.
JERUSALEM, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU
PATRIARCAT ARMÉNIEN



D'APRÈS ALISHAN

FIG. 21—LETTRE ZOOMORPHE D'UN
RITUEL, PAÏAS, 1216 A.D. VENISE
BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES MÉKHITARISTES



D'APRÈS ALISHAN

FIG. 23—INITIALE DE L'ÉVANGILE DU
MARÉCHAL AUCHINE, SIS, 1274 A.D.
NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN
LIBRARY

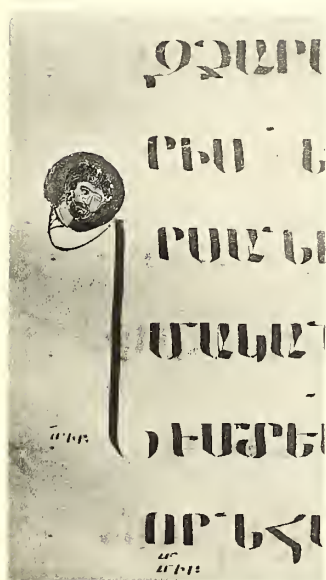
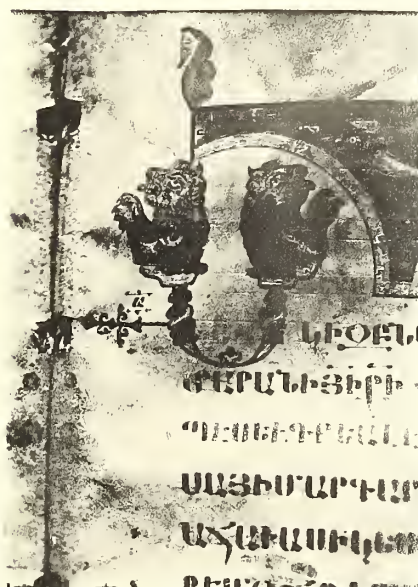
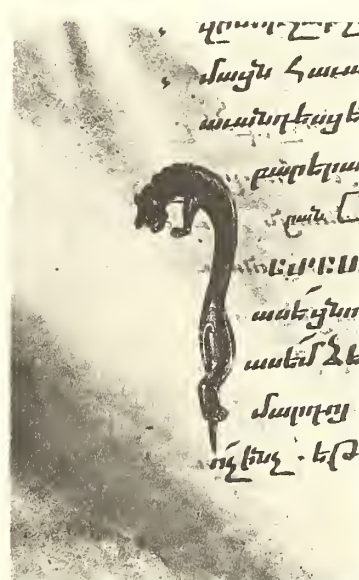


FIG. 19—ÉVANGILE DU ROI KAKIG
KARS, 1026-64 A.D.
JERUSALEM, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU
PATRIARCAT ARMÉNIEN



CLICHÉ: BALTRUŠAITIS

FIG. 20—LETTRE ZOOMORPHE DE
1053 A.D. ETCHMIADZIN, BIBLIO-
THÈQUE D'ÉTAT



CLICHÉ: BALTRUŠAITIS

FIG. 22—LETTRE ZOOMORPHE DU
MISSAL DU PRINCE HÉTHOUM
1286 A.D. ETCHMIADZIN, BIBLIO-
THÈQUE D'ÉTAT



FIG. 24—FRONTON À GROTESQUES DE L'ÉVANGILE DU MARÉCHAL AUCHINE
SIS, 1274 A.D. NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

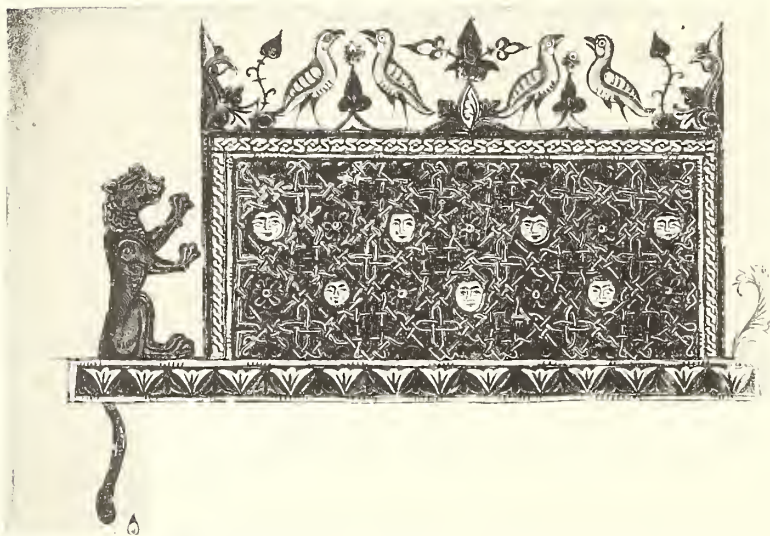


FIG. 26—TABLE DE CONCORDANCE À VISAGES LUNAIRES, PAR L'ENLUMINEUR
SARKIS BIDZAG, CILICIE, 1331 A.D.

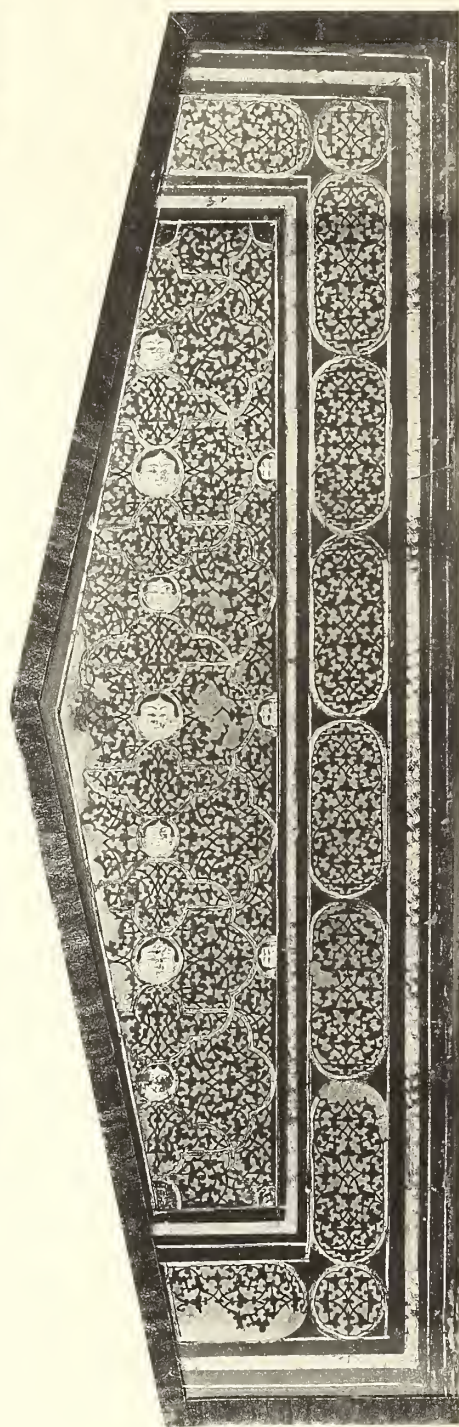


FIG. 25—RABAT DE RELIURE À VISAGES LUNAIRES
HÉRAT, FIN QUINZIÈME SIÈCLE A.D.
PARIS, COLLECTION L. CARTIER

Les bordures coufiques stylisées ont pénétré en Occident et on les voit reproduites sur les tissus dans un grand nombre de tableaux.¹¹⁵ Souvent très déformées, elles se retrouvent quelque fois identiques à celles de tapis d'Orient,¹¹⁶ ce qui confirme l'origine textile des modèles.

Si ce thème épigraphique arabe n'est pas inconnu de l'enluminure arménienne, je n'en ai pas vu d'exemple comme bordure de tissu. Déjà dans l'évangile de Kars du onzième siècle, une inscription coufique dans un panneau rectangulaire sert d'ornement marginal.¹¹⁷ Le fronton d'une page d'évangile de 1057, copié à Mélitène, est encadré en partie par un groupe de lettres qui se répètent.¹¹⁸ Il en est de même au siècle suivant en Cilicie, pour les architraves de deux tables de concordance de l'évangile de Skevra de 1197, avec cette particularité que le groupe de lettres est alternativement renversé, l'enlumineur n'ayant voulu y voir qu'un pur motif de décoration.¹¹⁹ En 1272 sur l'architrave d'une table de canons de l'évangile de la reine Guéran, la même disposition se retrouve.¹²⁰ Il faut peut-être voir dans l'esprit d'un beau panneau en onciales arméniennes sur fond de rinceaux, sculpté en 1338 au nom de "Pourthel, prince des princes," au couvent d'Amaghrou,¹²¹ une influence décorative musulmane.

Le caractère animal de la décoration arménienne s'étend aux lettres initiales ornées, qui sont souvent zoomorphes, anthropomorphes ou mixtes, et tiennent une place considérable dans l'art du livre arménien. Sur l'évangile de Kars, des têtes et des fleurons (*Figs. 18 et 19*) s'ajoutent aux majuscules, ou bien ces dernières sont béquetées par des oiseaux;¹²² mais ce sont là des additions qui ne font pas corps avec les lettres celles-ci conservant, intacte, leur ligne.¹²³ Dans un évangile de 1053 un fleuron à rûmis se rattache aussi à une majuscule, par une tige, comme sur la Figure 18.¹²⁴ Ce type de caractères ornés semble marquer en Arménie les débuts, d'ailleurs logiques, des lettres zoomorphes et anthropomorphes.¹²⁵ Une lettre zoomorphe apparaît en 1053 sous la forme d'un S arménien, dont les jambages se terminent par deux lions à mi-corps, adossés (*Fig. 20*).¹²⁶ Les réalisations de lettres animées les plus artistiques semblent

¹¹⁵ G. Soulier, *Les Influences orientales dans la peinture toscane*, (Paris, 1924), pp. 185s.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 188 et Pl. XIII: la vision de Constantin, fin du treizième siècle. Rapprocher la bordure de la draperie qui recouvre le lit, du tapis de Konya reproduit par Bode et Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Fig. 61.

¹¹⁷ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, 7. Un autre exemple du même manuscrit, *ibid.*, 157.

¹¹⁸ Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, Pl. XV, Fig. 30. Etchmiadzin No. 362.

¹¹⁹ P. N. Akinian, *L'Evangile copié à Skevra en 1197 de l'Archevêché de Lemberg* (Vienne, 1930), Figs. 3 et 4 (en arménien avec un résumé allemand).

¹²⁰ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, pl. en regard de la p. XVI.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, III, 197.

La façade de ce couvent, à escalier extérieur à double révolution, a manifestement servi, un siècle plus tard, de

modèle à la mosquée 'Imâret de Karamân (1432).

¹²² *Ibid.*, notamment les figs. des pp. 124, 179, 273, et 287.

¹²³ C'est à l'obligeance de M. A. Tchobanian que je dois les photographies de ces deux figures ainsi que celles des Figs. 3, 28 et 32, et je le prie de trouver ici tous mes remerciements.

¹²⁴ Père K. Hovsépian, *L'Art de la calligraphie chez les anciens Arméniens*, III^e partie, Planches de Paléographie (Vagharchabad, 1913), Pl. XXXII, Fig. 52 (en arménien).

¹²⁵ L'Evêque Mesrob se demande aussi si ce n'est pas là une étape où la lettre et l'animal conservent chacun leur forme propre. "L'Evangile du roi Kakig," *Revue ethnographique de Lalayan* (Tiflis), 1910, p. 331 (en arménien).

¹²⁶ Ms. 3793 d'Etchmiadzin, p. 90.

être celles formées par une seule bête. Un aigle d'un caractère hiératique dessine la lettre *kim* dans un rituel copié à Payas en 1216, l'année de la conquête d'Antioche par les Arméniens (Fig. 21).¹²⁷ En 1286, dans un manuscrit au nom du prince Héthoum qui compte un nombre considérable de majuscules ornées, une lettre dont les deux crochets sont formés par la tête et le pied d'un animal, tandis que son corps en dessine la barre, est d'une ligne particulièrement heureuse (Fig. 22).¹²⁸ Dans l'évangile du maréchal Auchine de 1274, un élégant *I* arménien qui occupe toute la hauteur de la page, est à entrelacs; seul un renard sert à dessiner le crochet de la lettre (Fig. 23). L'aigle qui la surmonte n'en fait pas partie et figure le symbole de St.-Jean.

En matière d'épigraphie décorative, se constate donc également l'opposition qui découle de la place prépondérante faite à l'élément animal dans les manifestations arméniennes.

On rencontre dans la décoration musulmane des têtes d'animaux employées comme fleurons de rinceaux.¹²⁹ Sur un tapis célèbre de la fin du quinzième siècle A.D., au Musée des Arts Décoratifs de Paris, deux spirales à révolution parallèle, l'une à têtes animales, l'autre à fleurs et à feuilles caractéristiques du quinzième siècle khorassanien, se développent en une élégante arabesque.¹³⁰

Un faisceau de preuves fournies par la miniature, la relieure et l'enluminure situent de façon certaine ce tapis.¹³¹ L'arbre fabuleux *waḵwāḵ* qui porte aussi des têtes, en guise de fruits, et dont il existe des représentations dans la miniature persane, rappelle sans contredit, ces rinceaux. Mme. Ph. Ackerman considère comme acquise de longue date leur dérivation de l'arbre en question.¹³² On est néanmoins en présence de deux figurations très différentes: une représentation narrative, et un motif de décoration. La légende de l'arbre qui parle a été répandue dans le monde musulman par le poète Nizāmī, à la fin du douzième siècle A.D., et le cosmographe Ḳazvīnī au treizième.¹³³ Si dès ce siècle des rinceaux à têtes animales et humaines se rencontrent sur des objets de bronze,¹³⁴ de verre émaillé, de même que dans la céramique;¹³⁵ la représentation de l'arbre *waḵwāḵ* semble postérieure, la plus ancienne actuellement étant connu celle d'une cosmographie de Ḳazvīnī de 1388 A.D.,¹³⁶ à têtes animales et humaines.

¹²⁷ Alishan, *op. cit.*, fig. et note de la p. 496. Il ne faut pas perdre de vue les rapports de la Cilicie avec la Syrie et l'Égypte, lorsqu'on se trouve en présence de manifestations qui s'apparentent.

¹²⁸ Etchmiadzin No. 979, p. 249.

¹²⁹ Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 58-59.

¹³⁰ R. Koechlin et G. Migeon, *Cent planches en couleurs d'art musulman*, Pl. XCIX.

¹³¹ Sakisian, "Les Tapis de Perse . . .," pp. 16-20.

¹³² P. Ackerman, "The Talking Tree," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Persian Art and Archaeol.*, IV (1935), No. 2, 67.

¹³³ G. Farrand, "Waḵwāḵ," *Encycl. l'Islam*.

¹³⁴ Le vase Barberini du Musée du Louvre porte sur

son col deux frises de rinceaux à têtes animales. Il est au nom d'un sultan aiyūbite de Syrie du treizième siècle A.D., de même qu'un bassin en bronze à sujets chrétiens, sur lequel j'avais signalé des médaillons avec le même emploi décoratif de têtes. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 58-59.

¹³⁵ C. J. Lamm et A. Geijer ont publié, en suédois, une étude abondamment illustrée intitulée "Une miniature et un tapis, étude sur les tapis à grotesques de la fin des Timourides," *Annuaire du Musée Nat. de Stockholm*, Nouvelle série I, pp. 26-51 (1930-31).

¹³⁶ Bibliothèque Nationale, Sup. Pers. 332, reproduction dans Martin, *op. cit.*, I, Fig. 10.

Il est particulièrement remarquable que les appliques ajourées de Kotchkar, qu'il est difficile d'associer avec la légende de l'arbre qui parle, réalisent des rinceaux caractérisés, à têtes animales et humaines en guise de fleurons. Des bêtes entièrement figurées interviennent aussi dans leur décoration,¹³⁷ ce qui souligne leur caractère indépendant du waḵwāḵ. L'enluminure arménienne vient aussi à l'appui de la dissociation de la représentation anecdotique et du motif décoratif. Dès 1274 A.D. dans l'évangile du maréchal Auchine, tout le champ d'un fronton est décoré de ces rinceaux (*Fig. 24*),¹³⁸ que l'art du livre musulman ne connaît pas à cette date. Mais plus tôt, en 1197, sur une table de concordance de l'évangile de Lemberg, copié en Cilicie arménienne, des spirales qui se terminent par des têtes de lièvre,¹³⁹ forment les queues stylisées de deux oiseaux qui les mordent. Une disposition identique se retrouve sur un évangile de 1193.¹⁴⁰ Une petite arabesque à grotesques est même réalisée au douzième siècle, comme ornement marginal, par l'enlumineur Vart¹⁴¹ dans la Grande Arménie. De son côté, l'évangile de Kars du onzième siècle se caractérise par de très nombreuses têtes qu'une tige rattache à des majuscules (*Figs. 18 et 19*).¹⁴² C'est déjà l'élément constitutif—antérieur à Niḡāmī et Ḳazvīnī—du mode de décoration, dont l'ornement marginal de l'enlumineur Vart représente un développement, et la Figure 24 le complet épanouissement.

On serait tenté de considérer comme iranienne une face lunaire employée comme motif purement décoratif et dont on trouve isolés ou répétés, des exemples à la fin des quatorzième et quinzième siècles A.D. (*Fig. 25*).¹⁴³ Le disque de la lune est l'idéal de la beauté féminine pour les Persans et la comparaison est classique dans Firdousi. Pour les Arméniennes, on trouve une constatation analogue, à une époque tardive, dans Figueroa.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷ Strzygowski, *L'Ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, p. 56, *Fig. 30*.

Kotchkar est situé dans le Semiretchensk, soit au sud du lac Balkach.

¹³⁸ Il en est de même du portique d'un évangile des douzième-treizième siècles, No. 379 d'Etchmiadzin, p. 2, d'après une photographie rapportée par M. J. Baltrušaitis.

¹³⁹ Akinian, *op. cit.*, *Fig. 7*.

¹⁴⁰ Der Nersessian, *Les Manuscrits arméniens* . . . , Pl. XXIV. Les oiseaux de la fin du douzième siècle mordant leur queue stylisée sont à rapprocher de l'évangile de Kars du onzième qui en offre plusieurs exemples, quoique sans terminaison animale. Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, 122, 149 et 189.

¹⁴¹ Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, Pl. IX, 19. L'auteur fait intervenir un corps de serpent dans l'interprétation de l'oiseau de 1293 mordant sa queue terminée par une tête animale, ainsi que dans celle du motif marginal à grotesques. Pls. XXIV et IX, 19, pp. 69 et 23. Ce fait que sur une autre page du manuscrit de 1193 (Pl. XXIX), on retrouve la même queue à boucles et en spirale, mais

se terminant par un motif végétal, est une preuve suffisante qu'il ne s'agit pas du corps d'un serpent.

¹⁴² Il est curieux de constater deux siècles plus tard, sur le chandelier à canards en ronde-bosse du Musée du Louvre, des têtes de lièvre à extrémité de tiges, qui partent du dos des lions en relief de la base. Voir Migeon, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. 24. L'inscription arménienne de ce chandelier, n'est que de 1148 de l'ère arménienne, soit de 1699. Cette même disposition de têtes—dans l'espèce celles de dragons—qui se rattachent aux dos de fauves, se voit nettement sur les fragments, également du treizième siècle de stucs seldjouks au Musée de Činili Kiosk à Stamboul; Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, Pl. 13.

¹⁴³ Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 48, Bagdad 1396. Les visages lunaires de la *Fig. 25* sont peintes sur le cuir découpé du rabat. Voir Sakisian, "La Reliure persane au XV^e siècle sous les Timourides," p. 160 et *Fig. 13*.

¹⁴⁴ *Ambassade de Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse*, trad. de Wickfort (Paris, 1667), pp. 202-3, et Martin, *op. cit.*, I, *Fig. 38*, qui doit représenter une Arménienne de D̲j̲ulfa.

Dans l'enluminure arménienne, depuis la fin du douzième siècle, jusqu'au quatorzième, ces visages humains remplissent quelquefois les boucles des lettres, ou ornent leur corps.¹⁴⁵ On en trouve même un exemple dans l'évangile d'Etchmiadzin de 989.¹⁴⁶ Il arrive que les raies d'une étoile les encadrent, ce qui rappelle la représentation du soleil.¹⁴⁷ En 1331 l'enlumineur Bidzag a décoré un fronton de table de canons, d'entrelacs qui divisent le champ en losanges, dont sept à masques humains (*Fig. 26*).¹⁴⁸

Un motif animal d'une extrême fréquence dans l'art arménien et relativement rare dans la décoration musulmane, est la sirène-oiseau, dont une imposante image figure sur l'église d'Akhthamar de 915-21 (*Fig. 27*).

Un relai byzantin semble certain. Des bijoux émaillés à sirènes nimbées sont donnés par Kondakov.¹⁴⁹ Une anthologie persane de 1340-41 A.D. reproduit une sirène¹⁵⁰ dont la légende, effacée, était indéchiffrable. Muhammad Khan Kazvīnī a pu la rétablir par le texte, c'est baḥrī, et il est très intéressant que ce mot soit formé par baḥr (mer). Le Ḥarīrī Schefer, de l'école de Bagdad et de 1237 A.D., en offre l'exemple le plus ancien dans la miniature musulmane. Toutefois un oiseau à tête humaine est sculpté sur un panneau de bois provenant du palais des Fatimides.¹⁵¹ Attribué au dixième siècle, il ne peut être que postérieur à 969 A.D.

Il serait fastidieux d'énumérer les innombrables sirènes qui ornent les manuscrits arméniens jusqu'à une basse époque et dont on peut voir un grand nombre d'exemples dans A. Tchobanian. Deux sirènes adossées figurent sur une frise d'arcature de l'église St.-Grégoire d'Ani de 1215,¹⁵² et deux élégantes sirènes sculptées sur pierre, au Musée d'Etchmiadzin, sont attribuées au treizième siècle (*Fig. 28*). En 1261, le manteau du prince Léon, représenté avec la future reine Guéran, est décoré de sirènes dans des cercles.¹⁵³ Comme on le voit c'est un motif favori et général de décoration.

Un bol de Ray à nombreuses sirènes est un exemple de cette époque dans la céramique persane.¹⁵⁴ Dans les bas-reliefs seldjouks en stuc la sirène se rencontre au treizième siècle A.D.¹⁵⁵ probablement sous l'influence arménienne. Elle persiste jusqu'au début du quatorzième, pour disparaître de la décoration architecturale à l'époque ottomane. Un mausolée seldjouk de

¹⁴⁵ 1201: Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, I, frontispice et II, 8; 1214, dans une arabesque: Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII, 24; 1230: *ibid.*, Pl. XV, 37; 1269: Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, 32, et Mourad, *op. cit.*, Pl. F; 1331: Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, 15.

¹⁴⁶ Macler, *L'Evangile arménien de la bibliothèque d'Etchmiadzin de 989*, p. 215v.

¹⁴⁷ 1272: Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, 307; 1313: *ibid.*, III, titre et 33 et 193.

¹⁴⁸ C'est à l'obligeance de Mlle Der Nersessian que je dois cette figure et je la prie de trouver ici tous mes remerciements.

¹⁴⁹ Kondakov, *op. cit.*, Pl. 21.

¹⁵⁰ G. Marteau et H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes*

(Paris, 1913), I, Pl. XLIX, Fig. 55.

¹⁵¹ Wiet, *Album du musée arabe du Caire*, Pl. 22.

¹⁵² Baltrušaitis, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXV, Fig. 103.

¹⁵³ Sakisian, "Les Tissus royaux arméniens . . .," pp. 294-95. C'est par erreur qu'il y est question du roi Léon III, de la reine Guéran et de l'évangile de 1272. Il faut le prince Léon, son épouse Guéran et leur évangile de 1261.

¹⁵⁴ R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East* (London, 1932), Fig. 54.

¹⁵⁵ F. Sarre, *Seldschukische Kleinkunst* (Leipzig, 1909), Figs. 10 et 18, et *Der Kiosk von Konia*, Pls. 12 et 13.



CLICHÉ: LALAYAN, D'APRÈS SIRZYGOWSKI

FIG. 27—SIRÈNE-OISEAU EN BAS-RELIEF, AKITHAMAR, 915-21 A.D.



FIG. 28—SIRÈNES-OISEAUX SCULPTÉES, PAKARAN
TREIZIÈME SIÈCLE A.D. ETCHMIADZIN, MUSÉE D'ÉTAT



D'APRÈS BACHMANN
FIG. 29—ST.-THÉODORE TERRASSANT
LE DRAGON, AKHTHAMAR
915-21 A.D.



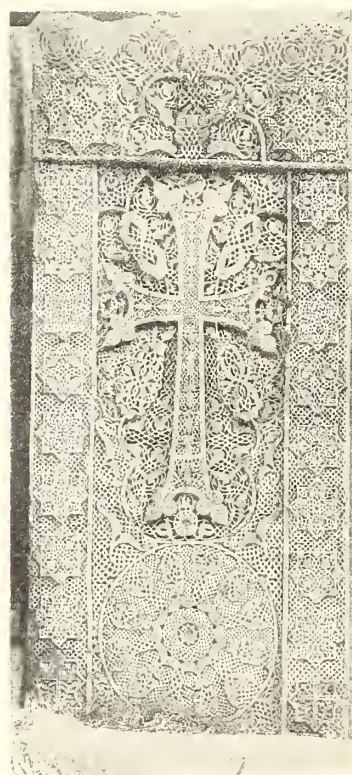
CLICHÉ: BALTRUŠAITIS
FIG. 30—CHAPITEAUX À DRAGONS DE
LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE, SANAHIN
ONZIÈME SIÈCLE A.D.



CLICHÉ: BALTRUŠAITIS
FIG. 31—ORNEMENT MARGINAL DE MISSEL
NEUVIÈME-DIXIÈME SIÈCLE A.D.
ETCHMIADZIN, BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ÉTAT



CLICHÉ: BALTRUŠAITIS
FIG. 33—CROIX MARGINALE EN
TORSADE, 1033, A.D. ETCHMIADZIN
BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ÉTAT



CLICHÉ: LALAYAN
FIG. 32—STÈLE À CROIX, SANAHIN
TREIZIÈME SIÈCLE A.D.

Nigde, à influences très arméniennes, dont Tawhîd Bey a déchiffré l'inscription, et qui porte des sirènes en bas-relief,¹⁵⁶ est au nom d'une princesse seldjouke et datée de 1312 A.D.¹⁵⁷ Les têtes sont aujourd'hui complètement mutilées.¹⁵⁸ Au seizième siècle A.D., les sirènes reparaissent en Asie Mineure, dans la céramique, et doivent être l'œuvre de faïenciers arméniens, du moment qu'on ne les rencontre à cette époque que dans les manuscrits arméniens.¹⁵⁹

Un autre animal fabuleux, le dragon, *vichab* en arménien, *adjder* ou *azhder* en persan, se retrouve dans l'art arménien et musulman.

Le dragon chez les Arméniens affecte la forme d'un serpent, sans pattes, ni ailes. Déjà au commencement du dixième siècle A.D., c'est ainsi qu'il est figuré sous la lance de St.-Théodore, par l'imagier des sculptures qui animent extérieurement l'église d'Akhthamar (*Fig. 29*). Les chapiteaux de la bibliothèque de Sanahin, du onzième siècle, formés par les corps en haut-relief de serpents qui s'enlacent, doivent aussi représenter des dragons (*Fig. 30*). Sur la porte en bois sculptée du couvent des Apôtres (*Arakelotz*) de Mouch, datée de 1134, c'est toujours un serpent que terrasse avec sa lance St.-Theodore¹⁶⁰ (*Fig. 13*). Le même saint sur un manuscrit de 1331 transperce aussi un dragon de ce type.¹⁶¹

Le dragon sassanide, complètement différent, ailé et à queue de paon, a dû toutefois s'acclimater précédemment en Arménie, car il subsiste sur une peinture murale à l'église St.-Grégoire d'Ani du début du treizième siècle,¹⁶² de même qu'on le rencontre sur des pièces d'orfèvrerie d'époque musulmane.¹⁶³ Les dragons que l'on trouve affrontés sur des constructions musulmanes à la fin du douzième et au commencement du treizième siècle, conservent à la différence de la bête terrassée par St.-Théodore, les pattes antérieures et les ailes du type sassanide, tandis que le corps nouveau est celui d'un serpent.¹⁶⁴ La dérivation est donc manifeste.

On retrouve ces bêtes affrontées au cœur même de l'Arménie avec le même emploi décoratif, c'est-à-dire sur l'arche d'une porte au treizième ou quatorzième siècle, mais toujours sans ailes ni pattes.¹⁶⁵ Il est digne de remarque qu'au collège Çifte Minare d'Erzeroum, que l'on situe au douzième siècle A.D. et dont les sculpteurs devaient être arméniens, ces monstres, à la

¹⁵⁶ A. Sakisian, "Une Porte en bois sculptée arménienne de 1134," *Artibus Asiae*, VI (1937), 225.

¹⁵⁷ A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie, Kayseri-Nigde* (Paris, 1931), I, 147, note 1 et 148, Fig. 100 et Pls. XLVI et LI.

¹⁵⁸ On peut les voir dans Halil Ethem, *Guide de Nigde* (Istanbul, 1936), Fig. 7 (en turc).

¹⁵⁹ Sakisian, "Les Questions de Kotahya et de Damas . . .," p. 265 et notes 4 et 5.

¹⁶⁰ J'avais lu dubitativement sur la photographie le nom de St.-Georges, au dessus du cavalier (p. 225 de mon article précité sur cette porte), mais le déchiffrement de l'Archevêque K. Hovsépian, d'après l'original, est en faveur de St.-Théodore, transcrit par abréviation. "La Porte du couvent de St.-Lazare ou des Apôtres du Daron," *Annuaire Zvarthnotz*, 1937, pp. 146-47 (en arménien).

¹⁶¹ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, 239.

Le dragon est resté un motif favori de décoration chez les Arméniens. Dans la commande d'une crosse aux orfèvres arméniens de Stamboul le primat des Arméniens de Russie, l'Archevêque H. Arghoutian, spécifie en 1786 qu'elle doit être à tête de dragon. P. Kud Aghaniantz, *Archives de l'histoire des arméniens*, IX (Tiflis, 1911), 57 (en arménien).

¹⁶² Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, Fig. 339.

¹⁶³ F. Sarre, *L'Art de la Perse ancienne*, trad. P. Budry (Paris, n.d.), Pls. 120, 121, 141.

¹⁶⁴ Les dragons d'une porte de Diarbékir (1183-84), et ceux de la porte du Talisman à Bagdad (1221 A.D.), sont les principaux représentants de ce type.

¹⁶⁵ L'Archevêque K. Hovsépian, *op. cit.*, Fig. 67 et pp. 164-65. Le canton de Godaïk, dans lequel cette porte est située, fait partie de la province d'Ararat.

différence des dragons musulmans de Diarbékir et de Bagdad, sont représentés sans ailes ni pattes, avec des corps de serpents qui s'entrelacent en nœud.¹⁶⁶ Le type arménien se maintient à une basse époque.¹⁶⁷ Toutefois en 1683, mais à Tokat et non dans la Grande Arménie, le dragon combattu par St.-Georges du ménéloge Indjoudjian n'est pas du type serpent, et il a pattes et ailes.¹⁶⁸ C'est dans des influences venant de l'Ouest qu'il faut en chercher l'explication.

Un troisième type de dragon, sans contredit le plus artistique, est le dragon chinois qui triomphe dans la miniature persane aux quinzième et seizième siècles A.D. Il est *sans ailes*, mais a quatre pattes et la tête caractéristique du monstre extrême-oriental.¹⁶⁹ Ce dragon n'a pas été adopté par l'enluminure arménienne, quoiqu'un recueil de modèles pour miniaturistes, du début du seizième siècle, le reproduise fidèlement.¹⁷⁰ Néanmoins, quelque stylisés et déformés que soient les dragons des tapis arméniens, c'est au monstre extrême-oriental qu'ils doivent se rattacher.¹⁷¹

Sur une plaque de marbre deux dragons ailés, "aux queues entrelacées, s'affrontent la gueule ouverte: les crocs énormes et les langues fourchues." Ce travail musulman est situé au treizième siècle A.D. et en Mésopotamie.¹⁷² Il est intéressant d'en rapprocher une composition arménienne, dans le même esprit, d'un missel des neuvième-dixième siècles à deux oiseaux avec des têtes de dragon (*Fig. 31*).¹⁷³ En somme ce sont toujours deux animaux ailés, symétriquement disposés, qui s'entrelacent, avec les queues relevées et des têtes de dragon.

Un motif en forme d' S, sans être spécifiquement arménien, est devenu caractéristique de cet art par sa fréquence et un emploi décoratif spécial: l'encadrement.

Sur un manuscrit du dixième siècle, la barre d'une majuscule est ornée de ces S.¹⁷⁴ Il en est de même de la bordure d'une vignette de l'évangile de Kars, également antérieur à l'invasion seldjouk.¹⁷⁵ Sur la porte en bois sculpté de Mouch de 1134, le même motif décore le fond des arabesques géométriques (*Fig. 13*). Au treizième siècle, en Cilicie, on le retrouve sous une forme linéaire en 1274 et 1286 sur l'architrave d'une table de concordance et sur l'encadrement d'un portrait.¹⁷⁶

Barré, cet S se rencontre dans les tapis arméniens, y compris ceux du type classique à

¹⁶⁶ W. Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan* (Leipzig, 1913), Pl. 66.

¹⁶⁷ Voir deux miniatures d'un manuscrit de 1619 de la collection Sevadjian. Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, I, pl. en regard des pp. 32 et 35, avec l'annotation "dragons énormes" sur la première de ces pages.

¹⁶⁸ S. Abdullah et F. Macler, *Etudes sur la miniature arménienne* (Paris, 1909), Figs. 2 et 5.

¹⁶⁹ Sakisian, *La Miniature persane . . .*, Figs. 69, 77, 93, 157, 158 des quinzième et seizième siècles.

¹⁷⁰ "Livre de modèles," *Pazmaveb*, 1896, Fig. de la p. 396. Reproduite dans Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, I, 28. Il

résulte d'un mémorial de ce recueil qu'il était en cours d'exécution en 1511 A.D.

¹⁷¹ Sakisian, "Les Tapis arméniens du XV^e au XIX^e siècle," p. 29.

¹⁷² G. Wiet, *op. cit.*, Pl. 7, et G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, I, Fig. 92.

¹⁷³ Etchmiadzin, Missel, No. 985, p. 10.

¹⁷⁴ Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI, 36. St.-Lazare de Venise, codex 1400.

¹⁷⁵ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, 107.

¹⁷⁶ Sakisian, "L'Enluminure de l'évangile du maréchal Auchine," Fig. 4, et Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, III, 100.

dragon du seizième siècle A.D., comme le tapis Hanotaux,¹⁷⁷ ainsi que dans les broderies.¹⁷⁸ Il est remarquable que la bordure du tapis à phénix et dragon, à grande échelle, du Musée de Berlin,¹⁷⁹ qui se rattache aux tapis arméniens, soit à bordure d'S non barrés, comme l'encadrement de la vignette de l'évangile de Kars. En dehors des tapis arméniens, ce motif se voit souvent dans ceux du Caucase proprement dit,¹⁸⁰ et plus rarement dans des tapis d'Anatolie du type "Gheurdés." Mais ces deux derniers groupes sont postérieurs aux tapis arméniens à dragons. On ne saurait exagérer la portée de ce fait que ces bordures en S se sont maintenues en Arménie, dans la broderie, jusqu'à nos jours.¹⁸¹ Enfin le parallélisme entre l'enluminure et les tapis, en ce qui concerne ce motif, s'affirme aussi par les encadrements de deux pages d'un manuscrit copié à Vān en 1592, et formés par des S barrés,¹⁸² soit d'un type qui se rencontre sur les tapis.

Ilot chrétien battu par l'océan musulman, l'Arménie a traduit avec prédilection dans son art, le symbole de sa religion.

Les stèles tombales ornées d'une croix sur un champ décoré, *khatchkar* en arménien, sont spéciales à cet art et très différentes des croix irlandaises, comme on peut le voir sur les Figures 14 et 32, de la fin du douzième, et du treizième siècles. Ce type de stèles, quelquefois à personnages, embrasse huit siècles du dixième au dix-septième.¹⁸³

Les reliures arméniennes en peau, dont il existe de très anciens spécimens (une reliure d'Etchmiadzin porte la date de 1191)¹⁸⁴ attendent une étude. Leur plat gauche est fréquemment estampé d'une croix en torsade, avec piédestal.

Ce type de croix se retrouve dans l'enluminure. Le frontispice de l'évangile, de 1201, de la collection Sevadjan, répète certainement la croix que devait porter sa reliure, et il donne une idée exacte de ces couvertures.¹⁸⁵ Un manuscrit de 1033 offre un exemple de croix de torsade dans sa marge (*Fig. 33*),¹⁸⁶ et on peut en voir une autre de 1057 à Mélitène.¹⁸⁷

Des croix timbrent plus d'un tapis arménien, comme ceux du Musée d'Art Turc et Musulman de Stamboul, du Musée Autrichien de Vienne et de l'ancienne collection Lamm à Näsby.¹⁸⁸ Un brocard lamé arménien, à compartimentage identique à celui du manteau du roi Kakig

¹⁷⁷ Sakisian, "Nouveaux documents sur les tapis arméniens," fig. de la p. 181, et Bode et Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Fig. 56.

¹⁷⁸ Sakisian, "Les Broderies arméniennes du couvent de St.-Lazare (Venise)," *Pazmaveb*, 1935, Figs. 1-3 (en arménien).

¹⁷⁹ F. Sarre et H. Trenkwald, *Anciens tapis d'Orient*, trad. L. Herr (Paris, 1927-29), II, Pl. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Voir le compte-rendu de l'auteur sur "Armenische Teppiche de Z. Hofrichter," *Journ. Asiatique*, CCXXIX (1937), 668-69.

¹⁸¹ Sakisian, "Nouveaux documents sur les tapis arméniens," p. 182.

¹⁸² Macler, *Documents d'art arménien* (Paris, 1924), Pl. XXXV, Figs. 75-76.

¹⁸³ Th. Toramanian, *Le Temple de Dégor* (Tiflis, 1911), p. 25 (en arménien).

¹⁸⁴ L'Archevêque K. Hovsépian, "Un Tissu sassanide dans la reliure du msc. No. 1759 d'Etchmiadzin," *Handès Amsorya*, Mai-Juin, 1935, pp. 257-58 (en arménien).

¹⁸⁵ Tchobanian, *op. cit.*, II, 319.

¹⁸⁶ Etchmiadzin No. 283, p. 173.

¹⁸⁷ Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, Pl. XV, 29, Etchmiadzin No. 362.

¹⁸⁸ Sakisian, "Les Tapis arméniens du XV^e au XIX^e siècle," pp. 23-24, 32-33 et Figs. 2 et 3.

Ardzrouni¹⁸⁹ est à croix dans les cercles, et à chérubins dans les intervalles losangés. Les noms de Dieu et du Christ s'inscrivent entre les bras de chaque croix sur ce tissu d'église.¹⁹⁰

Cette place tenue dans les représentations arméniennes par le symbole chrétien, dont des exemples plus anciens existaient, explique l'adoption de l'arménien "khatch" (croix), par les langues persane et turque, respectivement sous les formes *khādj* et *khāč*. Ce mot a même servi en turc à former une famille de dérivés tels que *croisé* et *crucifier*. Un type de tapis turcomans d'Asie Centrale, qui porte deux bandes croisées, est connu sous le nom de *khāčlou*, c'est-à-dire, à croix.¹⁹¹

Si on passe du plan philologique au plan décoratif, le thème essentiellement persan du médaillon central avec écoinçons, a été manifestement influencé par la croix aux quatorzième et quinzième siècles. Une reliure de 1396¹⁹² et une autre du début du quinzième,¹⁹³ sont à médaillon central cruciforme. Des reliures de 1334 et 1379 A.D., dont les médaillons sont polylobés, ont des écoinçons de type cruciforme ce qui implique — les écoinçons représentant des quarts de médaillon — l'emploi antérieur de rose en forme de croix.¹⁹⁴ Un tapis de M. Indjoudjian, à motif central cruciforme, est daté de 1459 A.D. (862 de l'hégire).¹⁹⁵ Enfin toujours au quinzième siècle, des carreaux de faïence de la Mosquée Bleue de Tabriz, sont également à croix.¹⁹⁶

On ne peut chercher dans l'art musulman une contre partie du rôle décoratif de la croix chez les Arméniens, car contrairement à une opinion courante, le croissant n'a jamais été un symbole de l'Islam, tout au moins, chez les musulmans.¹⁹⁷

Je ne me dissimule pas le caractère très imparfait de cet essai, ne fût-ce qu'à raison d'une documentation incomplète, en particulier pour ce qui regarde l'art arménien. Toutefois une conclusion générale s'impose d'ores et déjà: c'est celle de la complète autonomie, vis-à-vis de l'art musulman, de la décoration arménienne. Aussi pour expliquer son évolution, au lieu

¹⁸⁹ Sakisian, "Les Tissus royaux arméniens . . .," pp. 292-93 et Fig. 1.

¹⁹⁰ C'est à l'obligeance de M Th. Macridy que je dois de connaître ce tissu qui sera reproduit dans son ouvrage, sur les soieries de Turquie, en collaboration avec M. Tahsin Öz.

¹⁹¹ J. Breck et F. Morris qui donnent exactement le sens de cette appellation, lui attribuent pour racine le mot *croix* en grec. C'est là une confusion manifeste, le vocable grec pour croix, employé également en turc, étant *istavroz*. *The Ballard Collection of Oriental Rugs* (New York, 1923), p. 54 et Pl. 106.

Voir aussi A. F. Kendrick et C. E. C. Tattersall, *Handwoven Carpets Oriental and European* (London, 1922), Figs. 181-82.

¹⁹² Sakisian, "Les Tapis de Perse à la lumière . . .," p. 229 et Fig. 5.

¹⁹³ A. Sakisian, "La Reliure dans la Perse occidentale sous les Mongols au XIV^e et au début du XV^e siècle," *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), Pt. 1, 91 et Fig. 7.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Figs. 3 et 4.

¹⁹⁵ Ce tapis est très analogue à celui reproduit par Sarre et Trenkwald, *op cit.*, sous le No. 32.

¹⁹⁶ Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Pls. XXII et XXIV.

¹⁹⁷ L'ambassadeur turc à la cour de Louis XV, Mehmed Effendi, en l'honneur duquel un feu d'artifice avait été tiré, représentant un croissant surmonté d'une couronne royale, écrit: "les Français désignent chaque pays par un emblème spécial, et la lune serait l'emblème de notre padichah." *Relation de l'ambassade à Paris en 1720 de Mehmed Effendi* (Constantinople, 1306 H.), p. 138 (en turc).

de la tendance à chercher un facteur étranger, faut-il tenir un plus grand compte des forces internes.¹⁹⁸

La solution, suivant une méthode objective, c'est-à-dire par les œuvres d'art, des questions particulières d'influence ou d'emprunt, toujours délicates, sera facilitée le jour où on disposera d'une information plus étendue et plus sûre.

¹⁹⁸ Dans un domaine différent, celui de l'architecture, voir les conclusions de J. Baltrušaitis au sujet de l'ogive.

Le Problème de l'ogive en Arménie, 1936, 37-44.

NOTES

A TURANIC MONUMENT OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.

One of the most beautiful Islamic buildings erected in Turkestan before the raid of Genghis Khan is the mausoleum of Shah Faḍl (Fasl),¹ situated at a lonely spot in the northern part of the Farghāna near Kāsān.

The entire district is of the greatest historical importance. Kāsān, which spreads along the bank of a tributary of the Syr Darya below the slopes of the Altai mountain range, was in the seventh century the residence of a Turkish dynasty which collapsed in 658 A.D. In the records of the Arab conquest Kāsān is mentioned as the capital of the entire Farghāna. After the most energetic resistance it was finally subjected to the Caliphate by ẖutaiba ibn Muslim in 94 H. (712-13 A.D.). It fought its way to independence again several times. As late a ruler as the Samanid Nūḥ ibn Asad had to reconquer parts of the Farghāna, and among these was Kāsān. Naturally, no great works of art have been preserved from such restless times. Although the only dated monument of Kāsān belongs to the middle of the fourteenth century² there are at least some marks of earlier events. At one spot in the outskirts of the town black oval tombstones are heaped up; these are well known in Turkestan as belonging to the earlier years of Arab rule. Early fighting is recalled by a fortified hill north of Kāsān called Muḡḡ Kurghan ("Hill of the Magians").³

The most important site from the artistic point of view is Safid Buland, situated about half a

day's travel by horsecar from Kāsān. There is a good tradition that Muhammad ibn Djarīr fell with 2,700 men in battle for Islam at this place. It is considered very holy. Even on one of the slopes of the surrounding mountains, which are completely barren, mosques and mausoleums were built. The most remarkable building at Safid Buland, however, is the Mazār⁴ Shah Faḍl (*Fig. 1*).

This mausoleum, which is about 14 meters high, is situated in a square courtyard encircled by small buildings made of wood and mud, materials commonly used in Turkestan. Its appearance before the low mountain range is very imposing. It is a domed building divided into three stories, each of which has a specific architectural function. The first story, the tomb chamber proper, is a cubic structure tapering upward. Three entrance doors pierce the west wall, and one opens to the south. The second story, octagonal in shape, leads by three steps to the comparatively steep dome. There is no trace of any decoration on the outside, and there never seems to have been any.

In view of the simplicity of the outside, the interior is a great surprise. The walls are completely and richly covered with a great variety of artistically arranged ornaments in stucco, in strict harmony with the outside system. There are three parts: the tomb chamber proper, the octagonal squinch story above it, and, finally, the dome. The decorator split these principal partitions into subdivisions expressing great refinement of artistic intention. The decoration of the lower part of the wall, the dado, corresponds to its function as a base (*Fig. 2*). It is incised in the plaster coating and reproduces the effect of colonnades with pointed cinquefoil arches, making it clear that this part of the wall is supporting the upper section,

⁴ Mazār is the word used in Turkestan for a saint's tomb frequently visited by pilgrims.

¹ E. Cohn-Wiener, *Turan* (Berlin, 1930), p. 21, and Pls. XXVII-XVIII.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. XIX.

³ This area of about six and one-half acres is now completely deserted and would be well worth a serious exploration.

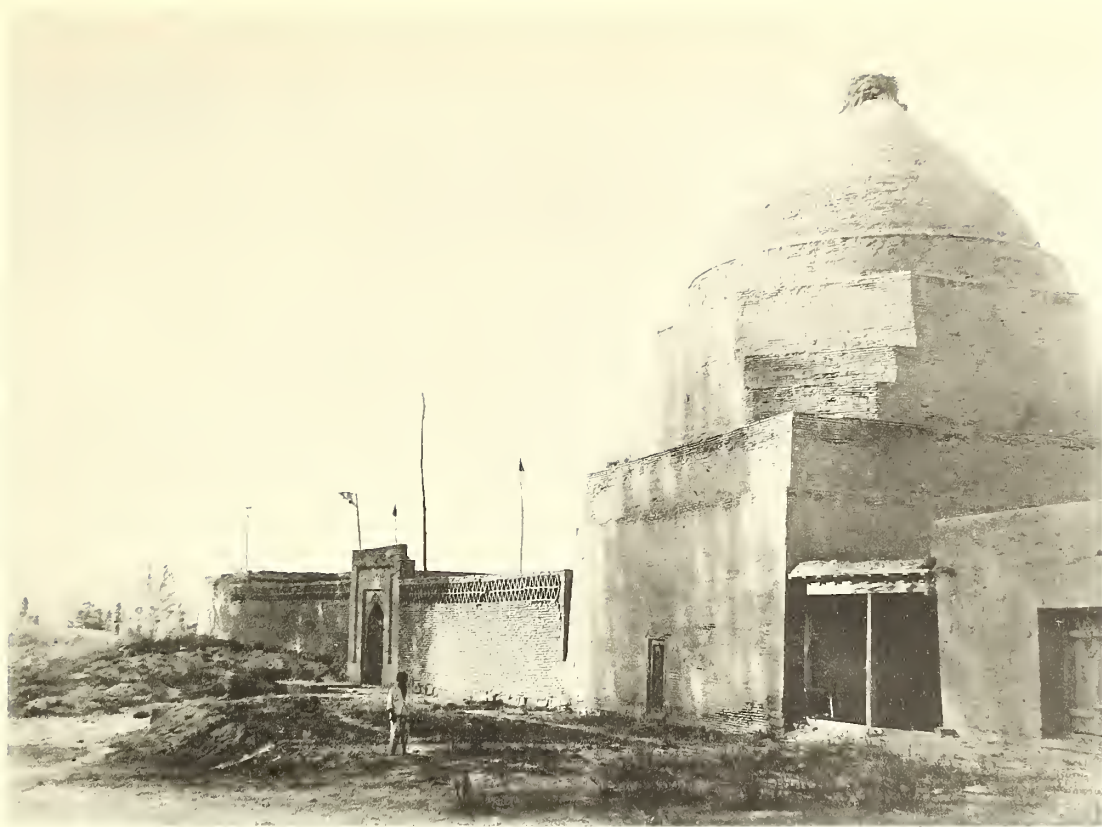


FIG. 1—EXTERIOR

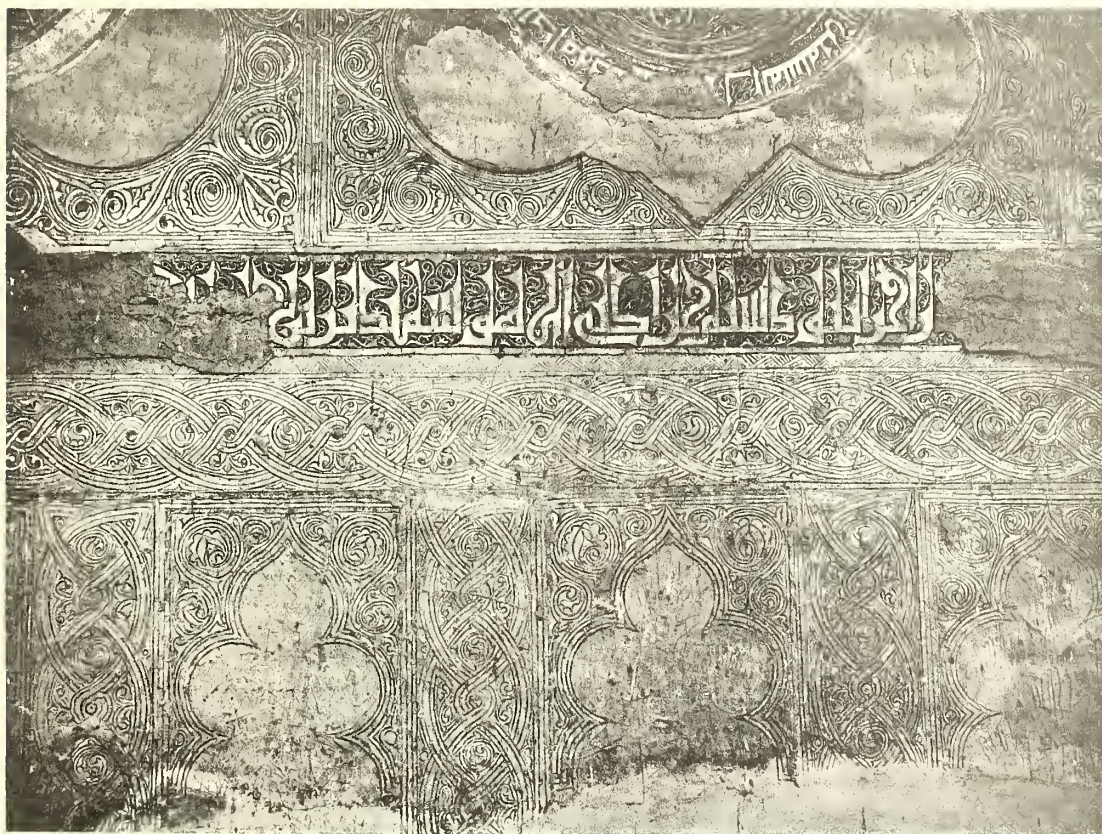


FIG. 2—DECORATION OF LOWER PART OF WALL

MAZĀR SHAH FADL, TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.



FIG. 3—SOUTHEAST SQUINCH



FIG. 4—SOUTHWEST SQUINCH

MAZĀR SHAH FĀDL

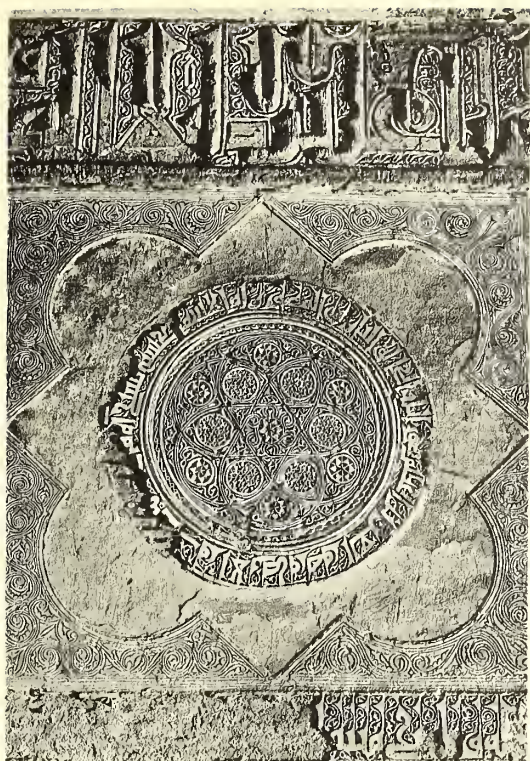


FIG. 5—LEFT ROUNDEL ON SOUTH WALL



FIG. 6—RIGHT ROUNDEL ON SOUTH WALL



FIG. 7—RIGHT ROUNDEL ON WEST WALL

MAZĀR SHAH FAḌL



FIG. 8—LEFT ROUNDEL ON NORTH WALL



FIG. 9—RIGHT ROUNDEL ON NORTH WALL

MAZĀR SHAH FAḌL

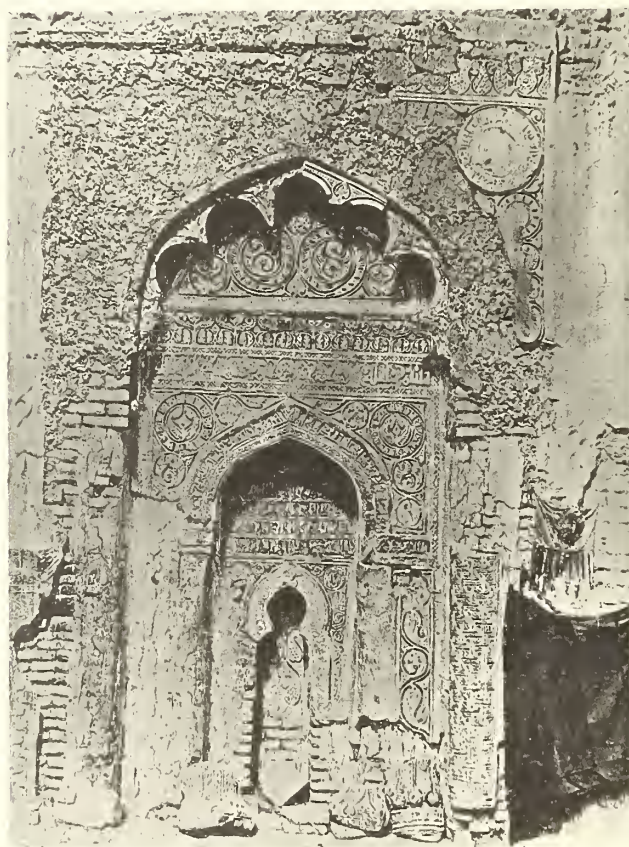


FIG. 10—MESHHED-I MIŞRIVĀN, MIHRAB

from which it is separated by a narrow inscrip-tional band. The upper section expresses the quiet of the wall proper (*Figs. 3 and 4*). It shows a continuous row of quatrefoils in squares; each quatrefoil contains a richly decorated roundel and cuts out four well-ornamented spandrels. The corner ones are in halves. Triangles are placed between the lobes of the quatrefoils, recalling a common form in European Gothic decoration. This ornamental device is very clear cut and much more beautiful than that which frames the works of Giotto and Andrea Pisano in Florence. The decoration of the roundels is alternately carved in relief and incised in the plaster coat-ing. Of the roundels of the first kind, which show greater variety of pattern, seven survive, and one has perished completely. These are among the best specimens of Islamic ornamentation in the Middle Ages.

The best-preserved roundels are those of the south wall. The decoration of the one on the left (*Fig. 5*) is developed from a six-pointed star, each point of which is joined to the second near-est point by circle sections, and the ground is filled with a pattern of very small stars. The right roundel of this side (*Fig. 6*) has an intricate pattern that continues the six points of a star in the center by means of six lozenges, whereas the ground is filled with stylized scrolls. The left roundel on the west wall is disposed by means of a lozenge crossed by a perpendicularly set rectangle the ends of which are interlaced with simple quatrefoils—the system used much later in the Persian “compartment” carpets. The right roundel on this side (*Fig. 7*) shows a kind of wickerwork. The left roundel on the north wall (*Fig. 8*) is very similar to the left one on the opposite side. The right one (*Fig. 9*) on the north wall, of which only a part is preserved, is oc-cupied by a dense wickerwork filled with little spiral scrolls. The left roundel on the east wall is almost completely destroyed, but the right one has a six-pointed star, the interstices of which are filled by small circles.

Above this frieze runs a very poorly preserved Koranic⁵ inscription in Kufic letters. Immedi-ately above it are small ornamental friezes, the decorations of which change on each side. The one on the west is filled with a line of simple quatrefoils, the one on the south with small densely set stars, the one to the east with a little zigzag line, and the one to the north with simple wickerwork.

The fundamental system of the very ornate squinch story is the common one with hemi-spherical corner squinches (*Figs. 3 and 4*). It testifies to the taste of the decorator that the arches forming the frames of the squinches rise above the center of the relief-carved roundels of the lower frieze, thus keeping up the continuity of the decoration. Not only the squinches but also the flat walls between them are framed with multifoil arches, the small borders of which are also decorated. The remainder of the surface is filled with roundels: the two in the squinch and the two in the spandrels are simply incised, the one in the flat part of the walls is in relief.

An inscrip-tional frieze in Kufic letters also frames this part of the decoration. From it eight perpendicular riblike friezes ran to the top of the vault; however, only some inches of the lower part of these have survived. From what is left it appears that formerly there was an inner cupola decorated with stucco work which must have broken down. Now the visitor looks into the darkness of the empty dome.

The decay and destruction of many of the monuments render it difficult to trace the parent-age of Turanic art works. The continuous war-fare in the country, the raids of Genghis Khan, of Timur, and of other conquerors down to Baber are responsible for much destruction. Fre-quently the stucco decoration suffered from the climatic conditions. Even though the number of medieval mausoleums in Turkestan is consider-

⁵ The author is indebted for this information to Ulama Khan Bahadur Maulana Hidayat Hussein, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

able a much greater number must have perished, and the traces of stucco decoration on the now almost completely bare walls show how great the loss has been.

These factors make it very difficult to trace the history of any type of building or of any ornamental motif in the Islamic world. The different nations confessing the religion of Islam are closely joined together. Hence, while the same pattern appears at very distant places in the Islamic world, we are rarely able to trace the place of origin of a motif or to follow it clearly from the country of its origin. Even specialized types seem to have been common throughout many parts of the Islamic world. Although the mausoleum of Shah Faḍl appears to be an isolated building of unique beauty, all its elements seem to have existed elsewhere as well.

The structure suggests a connection with the tomb towers of Kum in Iran, in the interior of which stucco decoration likewise appears.⁶ That the double vault was common in such tower-shaped mausoleums is proved by the tomb towers of Akhlāt in Armenia, where it occurs in the thirteenth century. This is later than the date of the Mazār Shah Faḍl. The identical disposition of the squinches appears as early as the ninth century in the dome over the mihrab in the mosque of Sīdī 'Oḡba at Kairouan, erected by the Aghlabid Ahmed, who ruled from 856 to 863 A.D. The differences—the arches in Kairouan are not pointed but semicircular, and the squinches have the form of conch shells—are due to the early date. This seems to prove that the polylobed arch developed by way of isolation from the shell-shaped hemispherical vault frequent in early Eastern Roman architecture. The polylobed arch itself appears in Turkestan not much later than the period during which the cupola of

the Sīdī 'Oḡba mosque was erected. It forms the frame of a prayer niche in the ruins of Meshhed-i Mişriyān (*Fig. 10*), in the desert of Kizil Kum (Turkmenistan), the ornamentation of which is of the same type as that of the mosque at Nayin.

Quatrefoils of the particular shape found in the Mazār Shah Faḍl cannot be traced in earlier Islamic ornamentation—not even as late as Samarra or Nāin. Quatrefoils there are always without inserted triangles. But there is at least one early specimen in the ornamentation of a fragmentary Hebrew manuscript written in the year 930 A.D. at Cairo and now in Leningrad.⁷ The motif is considerably older, most probably of Sasanian origin; it appears in Coptic textiles and in the Venatores—silk from the Sancta Sanctorum.

The structure is not overcrowded with aimless ornamentation as are so many Islamic buildings; it was fashioned by a highly delicate taste with an understanding of the interrelation between ornamental and structural forms. The Mazār Shah Faḍl may be called the very acme of medieval Islamic art in Central Asia. It shows that conscious artistic composition is as much possible in Islamic decoration as in Western painting.

It is obvious from this very fact that the Mazār Shah Faḍl cannot have been erected after Genghis Khan conquered Turkestan about 1220 A.D. His path of destruction terminates the development of medieval art in that country. In Persia the rule of his successors, the Īl-Khāns, proffers a new development, but no date later than the end of the twelfth century can be found in medieval Turanic art.

Fortunately, the group of three mausoleums at Ūzgand presents a development which enables us to date them approximately. The oldest mausoleum, the main feature of which is its pure brick

⁶ Compare also the domed mausoleum in Sangbast, which seems, however, to have only one vault. *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope (London-New York, 1938), IV, Pl. 260, B, C.

⁷ V. Stassof and D. Gunzburg, *L'Ornement hébreu* (Berlin, 1905), Pl. I.

ornamentation, is most probably that of Naṣr ibn Ali. He was the most important ruler of the Ḳarakhānid dynasty, subdued almost the entire Mā warā' al-Nahr, captured Bukhara in 999 A.D., and died in the year 403 H. (1012-13 A.D.).⁸ The next in age bears the inscription of one Djalāl al-Dīn al-Husain and is dated 547 H. (1152 A.D.).⁹ The ornamentation of this building is not only arranged in full accordance with the different parts of the building, but is graded as delicately as that of the Mazār Shah Faḍl. The decoration of the vault above the entrance niche¹⁰ displays the same noble and subtle creative power. The façade of the latest mausoleum at Ūzgand, that dated 581-82 H. (1186-87 A.D.),¹¹ is covered by rich ornamentation which lacks the discriminating taste shown in the older buildings. Hence the monument with which we are dealing most probably belongs to the middle of the twelfth century.

ERNST COHN-WIENER

ARABIC-PERSIAN KORAN OF THE LATE FIFTEENTH
OR EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The Timurids of Transoxiana, as is well known, were patrons of the arts and letters; and they were also booklovers and book creators. Sultan Abu 'l-Ghazi Husain Mirza (872-911 H.—1468-1506-7 A.D.), a direct descendant of Timur, was a munificent patron of letters and learning as was also his wazir, the much-famed Mir Ali Shīr Nawā'i (844-906 H.—1440-1501 A.D.).¹ Among the celebrities which they together drew to the brilliant court at Herat were some of the leading calligraphers of the age.²

⁸ Cohn-Wiener, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Pls. XII, XIII.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Pls. XV, XVI.

¹ Cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1928), III, 390-97, 421-24, and 505 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 459; Bābur, *Bābur Nāma*, English trans. by A. S. Beveridge (London, 1922), p. 291; *Encycl. Islām* (Leiden, 1936), II, 343.

An Arabic-Persian Koran now in the possession of Mr. James G. Flesser, of Chicago, apparently belongs to the later Timurid period. It has 457 folios, including seven ornamental plates (*Fig. 1*), of which five are incomplete, and a fly-leaf at the beginning. The size is 30 by 21 centimeters with 18.5 by 11 centimeters for the text. The Arabic text is in Neskhi and the Persian in nastaliq script (*Figs. 2-3*). The decorative scheme consists of full plates and sura headings of broad bands, in which gold and blue predominate over red, green, and white. Verse endings are indicated by golden rosettes. The binding, which lacks the folding flap, is of Oriental lacquer, with an allover floral design of gold over a dark and dull brown. It is considerably damaged, and much of the lacquer has peeled off.

The Persian colophon (*Fig. 3*) reads as follows:

۱ همیشه کرده تلاوت درین کلام الله جناب

خواجه دنيا ودين عبید الله

۲ باتمام امد این معکف بهمین لطف یزدانی

۳ بدست عبده المحتاج عبد الله سلطانی

۴ تمام شد ترجمه قرآن بخط مبارک مولانا

سلطان محمد نور

The translation was kindly checked by Professor Sprengling:

(1) Djanāb Khwādja Dunyā wa-Dīn 'Ubaid Allāh, having made constant reading in this word of God, (2) this *maṣḥaf* came to completion solely by divine grace, (3) by the hand of his needy servant Abdallah Sultānī. (4) The translation of the Koran was completed by the blessed hand of our master Sultan Muhammad Nūr.

It is clear from this colophon that at least three people were involved in the creation of the manuscript. To disregard their honorific titles, these were 'Ubāid Allāh, Abdallah, and Muhammad Nūr. Of the three, Muhammad Nūr

alone can be identified with certainty. Since the other two must have been contemporary, in part at least, with him, leads as to their probable identification are not wanting.

The calligrapher of the Persian text is reported to have been Muhammad Nūr, so that the colophon does not bear Muhammad Nūr's signature, but only a notation by a second party to the effect that Muhammad Nūr wrote the Persian translation.

Muhammad Nūr was the son of Ali of Meshed, the leading calligrapher of the court of Sultan Husain. Ali was famous for the Persian taliq (ta'liq) and nastaliq scripts, and his excellent penmanship earned for him the honorific title of "Sultan of Calligraphers."³ His son, Muhammad Nūr, either inherited the title "sultan" or earned it by merit, for he was the pupil of his father, and his script is reported to have had no fault.⁴ I am unable to ascertain Muhammad Nūr's exact dates. He is reported, however, to have copied some of *Djāmī's* poetry in 1494 A.D.⁵ and also a manuscript of Sa'di in 920 H. (1514 A.D.).⁶

Abdallah, according to the signature in the present colophon, was the calligrapher of the Arabic text. Investigation points to Abdallah Marawārīd of Kerman as the most likely man here. He was in the service of the Timurid Sultan Husain (873-911 H.—1469-1506-7 A.D.), where he rose rapidly to favor, first as chief judge, and later as wazir or prime minister in 906 H. (1501 A.D.), succeeding Mir Ali Shīr. He belonged to the Persian thuluth and Neskhi school of calligraphy, but was skillful in all types of scripts. Several times he retired from public life and wrote Korans as an act of piety. He died

in 922 H. (1516 A.D.).⁷ He might well have been known in his day as Abdallah Sulṭānī.

'Ubaid Allāh is in some way connected with the writing of this copy of the Koran. He may have dictated it or had it written while he himself meditated on the "word of God." A more likely possibility is that the copy was undertaken through his direct influence on a relative or a disciple, or was even written in his honor. His honorific title, *Khwādja* Dunyā wa-Dīn, points to some well-known person of importance. We must, therefore, look for a *Khwādja* 'Ubaid Allāh of this period who was both pious and prominent. Such a character we have in *Khwādja* Naṣīr al-Dīn 'Ubaid Allāh Aḥrārī Naḡshbandī (806-95 H.—1404-90 A.D.), a famous saint influential in high politics in the reign of the Timurid Sultan Ahmed (873-99 H.—1468-93 A.D.), a man whose tomb soon became a public shrine.⁸ If he was personally and directly connected with the writing of the Arabic text, then the completion of that text must be dated in 895 H. (1490 A.D.) at the latest. If, however, the Koran was written through his indirect influence or in his honor, it could have been so written after his death. 'Ubaid Allāh had several sons. The oldest is referred to by some authors as Abdallah⁹ and by others as Muhammad 'Ubaid Allāh.¹⁰ Since the fifth son of 'Ubaid Allāh bore the name Abdallah,¹¹ it may be that the correct name of the oldest son was 'Ubaid Allāh. Hence it is possible that 'Ubaid Allāh the son (d. 911 H.—1506 A.D.) may have been the man mentioned in the colophon. He could have had the Koran written for the shrine of his father or for his own use,

³ C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'orient musulmane* (Paris, 1908), pp. 100 ff.; *Bābur Nāma*, p. 291.

⁴ Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Exhibition of Islamic Art, M. H. De Young Memorial Museum* (San Francisco, 1937), No. 3.

⁷ *Bābur Nāma*, pp. 278 ff.; Huart, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 ff.; *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ed. Charles Rieu (London, 1883), III, 1094.

⁸ Cf. *Bābur Nāma*, "Index," p. 819; H. Beveridge, "The Rashahat-i-ain-al-Hayat," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1916, pp. 59-75.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁰ *Bābur Nāma*, p. 63.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 653, footnote 4.

since he, too, was in a measure a prominent *Nakshbandī Khwādja* and was on friendly terms with Baber.¹² There is, furthermore, a chronogram possibility in the colophon which seems to point to 'Ubaid Allāh the son. This is to be found in the numerical value of the phrase *اتمام امد این محکف همین* which totals 911; and it was in 911 H. (1506 A.D.) that 'Ubaid Allāh the son died.¹³ If one or both of the prepositional *bā's* be included in the chronogram, we have the dates 913 and 915, and these are close enough for the completion of a Koran connected with 'Ubaid Allāh the younger. If all of line two of the colophon be taken as a chronogram, we have the figure 1116, which is obviously too late for Muhammad Nūr or any of his contemporaries. Persian chronograms are, as a rule, complex, and if we indeed have one here it seems to be no exception to that rule. Therefore, all that can be definitely said is that the Arabic text was completed, at the latest, by 922 H. (1516 A.D.), the year in which Abdallah, the Arabic calligrapher, died.

It is to be noted that the Koran is not now in its original format or binding. The central portion of each folio containing the text, written on very fine Oriental paper, is set in a frame of handmade paper of southern European manufacture. This last fact is ascertained from the watermark visible on folio 1, which is continuous with folio 8 and is of the same paper as the rest of the frames. The separate gold decorative plates (*Fig. 1*) at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript are likewise framed in the newer paper. The manuscript, therefore, has been put together at some time later than the writing of the text. If it was originally meant for the public who visited 'Ubaid Allāh's shrine, it must have received much handling which resulted in damage to the margins and thus gave cause for framing the text in the newer paper.

It is likely that the copy originally contained more information as to the occasion for the writing of the Koran, and that when it was repaired some of that information was worked into the present colophon. This would account for the lack of Muhammad Nūr's signature and the presence of a note instead. Again, though the paper of the colophon is continuous with that of the text, the script and the color scheme of the colophon are not in keeping with the rest of the manuscript. This may lend force to the suggestion that the entire present colophon is of a later addition. On the other hand, one frequently finds colophons undoubtedly of the same date as the text written in a different script and worked in a different color scheme from that of the text.

A Persian commentary, in good *nastaliq* script, has been added on the new margins. A note at the end (*Fig. 3*, bottom), deciphered with the aid of Professor Sprengling and Mr. Mohammad Ali Aghasi, reads as follows:

- ۱ حقیر عبد الکریم سارذ(?)ی احادیث
- ۲ خواص دین شریف مجید را از اول
- ۳ قوس تا دوازدهم جدی هذه السنه
- ۴ بارس بیل ۱۲۳۴ تحریر نمود
- ۵ امید که پسند طبع صاحب آن
- ۶ درود
- ۷ غرض نقشی است کز ما بازماند

(1) The humble 'Abd al-Karīm Sar.dī? (Sar.wī?) these select traditions (2) of the honorable and glorious faith, from the first of (3) (the month of) *Ḳaws* (the bow; *Sagittarius*) to the twelfth of (the month of) *Djādī* (the kid; *Capricorn*) of this year, (4) the year of the Tiger (of the *Hijra*) 1234 (1818-19 A.D.) has written. (5-6) I hope that this meets with the approval of the owner. (7) The purpose of writing is that it may remain after us.

The last line, Mr. Aghasi tells me, comes from a couplet of Sa'di, the second line of which reads:

که هستی را نمی بینم بقائی

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 63 and 149; Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75.

¹³ *Bābur Nāma*, p. 62, footnote 2.

The practice of combined dating by a solar year and the lunar year of the Hijra, as in lines 2-4, was common among the Persians. They referred to the solar year as "The Turki year, on account of the Tartar cycle, which gives its name to each year."¹⁴

NABIA ABBOTT

FATIMID CARVED-WOOD INSCRIPTIONS
IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The five sections of Kufic inscriptions in the possession of the Research Seminary in Islamic Art of the University of Michigan were acquired from Cairo and are excellent examples (especially Group I) of the Fatimid inscriptional style carved in wood. It should be noted that none of the sections shown here join, though the repetition of the text, which is the same in each example, shows that these bands originally must have formed a continuous frieze. The character of the text itself leads one to believe that it was made for a secular structure, perhaps a private residence, rather than for a mosque or other religious edifice.

The text of the inscription, which is the same in both Groups I and II, expresses the following sentiments for its owner:

بركة كاملة ونعمة شاملة وسعادة دائمة

baraka kāmila wa-ni'ma shāmila wa-sa'āda dā'ima

A perfect blessing, all-inclusive grace, and lasting felicity.

The beginnings of this type of sentiment in Egypt can be traced back to the time of the Tulunids. J. David-Weill¹ has described simi-

¹⁴ R. S. Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia* (London, 1887), pp. xviii ff.; cf. Beck, *Neupersische Konversations-Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1914), pp. 216 ff.; F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1906), I, pp. 501 ff. This last does not cover our period here.

¹ *Les Bois à épigraphes jusqu'à l'époque mamlouke,*

larly inscribed wooden plaques of unknown provenance belonging to the Arab Museum at Cairo, which, from their script and ornament, are dated in the ninth century. The same phraseology is found in ninth- and tenth-century A.D. property titles carved on wooden plaques and affixed to buildings to indicate their ownership.²

Group I. The style of Kufic represented by Group I (*Figs. 1-3*) is distinguished by a number of characteristics. Outstanding is the general tendency toward the accentuation of the verticals instead of the horizontals, as found in the Tulunid and preceding styles of Kufic. This is especially noticeable in the case of the final *hā'*, which as a rule is one of the last letters to submit to such lengthening. Here the vertical is fully as tall as in the *alif* and the *lām*. The teeth of the *sīn* and *shīn* do not rise to the same level, but slope downward from right to left. The *'ayn* has the shape of a trefoil, and the center was hollowed out by means of a drill, as were the centers of the *hā'*, *mīm*, and *wāw*. The *kāf* is of the variety usually called "swan-neck," and the present example (*Fig. 1*) takes an unusually long vertical rise before curving over to the right at an angle of ninety degrees.

The letters themselves have a rounded surface and stand in a relief noticeably higher than that of the floral ornament which forms the background. A point to be stressed is that the script is entirely independent of the ornament (except perhaps for the *dāl* of *dā'ima* in *Fig. 2*), and the only indication of a tendency toward floriation is in the trefoil shape of the *'ayn*.

The background ornament is composed of a *Gabelranke*, which can best be seen in Figures 1 and 2. Small leaves, sometimes reduced to a mere knoblike shape, project from the stem at intervals. The rinceaux themselves end in any one of three ways: (1) a solid trefoil; (2) a

Cat. général du Musée arabe du Caire (Le Caire, 1931), Nos. 3498-99, 6340-42.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 1319, 3903, 4610, 5686, 7108.

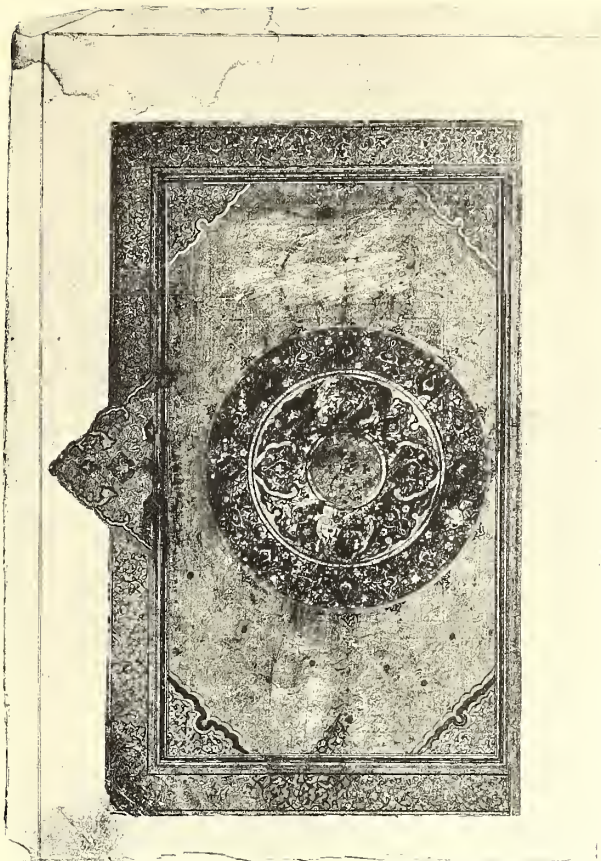


FIG. 1—FOLIO 2a

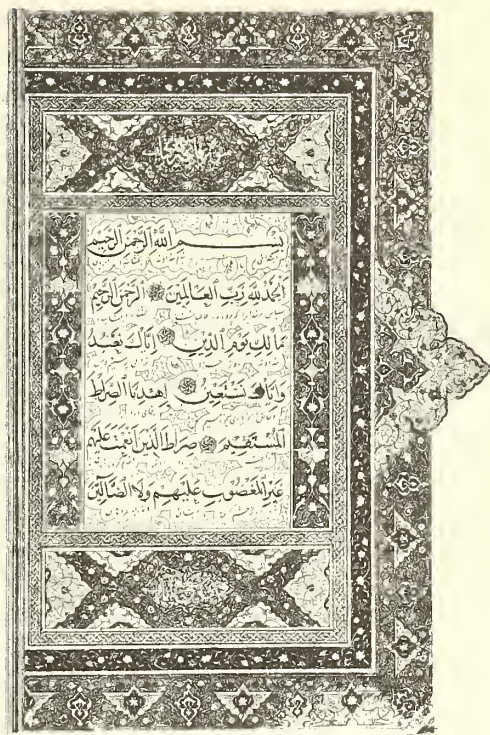


FIG. 2—FOLIO 2b



FIG. 3—FOLIO 455b



FIG. 1

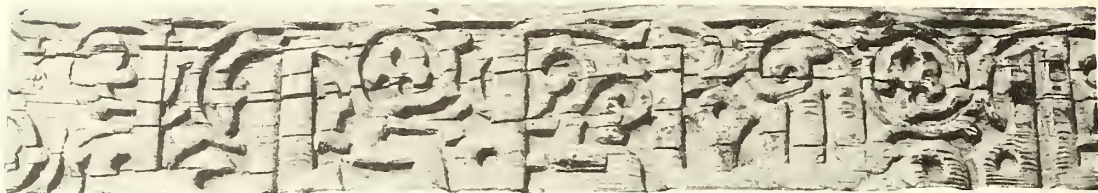


FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5

WOOD PANELS, EGYPT, FATIMID PERIOD, FIRST HALF OF TWELFTH CENTURY A.D.
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART

forked end terminating in two bilobate acanthus leaves; (3) a hollow-centered palmette which from similar examples³ is shown to be constructed by the union of two half-leaves of acanthus.⁴

Very close in style of epigraphy and ornament to these pieces is an inscription from the mosque of the Fatimid wazir, al-Šāliḥ Ṭalā'i, dated 555 H. (1160 A.D.).⁵ On the basis of the less-developed florid tendencies of the script of Group I, however, it should probably be dated somewhat

earlier, about the first half of the twelfth century.

Group II. The height of the inscribed bands is not as great as in Group I. The text of the inscription is the same as in Group I, and the epigraphy has the same general characteristics, though the poorer proportion and lack of uniformity of the letters show that it was executed by a less experienced hand. In all instances except one, the *lām* of *kāmila* in Figure 5, the vertical of the *lām* turns to the left at a right angle. The upper part of the *kāf* does not have the extended vertical rise present in Group I but is represented by a thick heavy stroke. The 'ayn is reduced in shape to a simple rectangle. The *mīms* in the *shāmila* of Figure 4 and the *kāmila* of Figure 5 are crowned by trefoils. In contrast with that of Group I the ornament does not form a background for the script but consists only of isolated tendrils and leaves scattered throughout the empty spaces between the letters. The date of this group is approximately the same as that of Group I.

HAROLD W. GLIDDEN

³ Cf. the panels from the church of Abū Saifain, restored after 1168 A.D., in E. Pauty, *Les Bois sculptés d'églises coptes (époque fatimide)* (Le Caire, 1930), Pl. XXII, top row. The same alternation of trefoils and palmettes is observable here.

⁴ Cf. A. Riegl, *Stilfragen* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 299-300.

⁵ Cf. David-Weill, *op. cit.*, No. 2411 (Pl. XIX). Compare also No. 646 (Pl. XX). The text of this inscription is identical with that of the University of Michigan pieces, except for the article of the first two words, al-baraka and al-kāmila.

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A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MINIATURE CYCLE IN THE DEMOTTE *SHAH NAMAH*

BY DORIS BRIAN

THE DISPERSION DURING THE SECOND DECADE OF THIS CENTURY OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF Firdausi's *Shah Namah*, which is known as the Demotte *Shah Namah*, for the dealer who first disassembled it and sold the individual pages, was, however felicitous for those who are thus enabled to enjoy its paintings in widely scattered collections, very unfortunate for the scholar who wishes to study this rare and important example of Iranian painting of the Mongol period.

This paper attempts to reconstruct the picture cycle as far as possible by listing the known miniatures in the order in which they belong in the text.¹ It should be observed that some of the episodes are very fully illustrated, whereas others, common in *Shah Namah* manuscripts, are missing altogether. A large part of the poem between the episodes shown in Number 16 and in Number 17 is unillustrated. There are no miniatures related to frequently shown parts of the Rustam story, although in the sections which tell of the adventures of Farīdūn, of Iskandar, and of Bahrām Gūr, miniatures must have appeared in some places on every page.

The miniatures reproduced have either never before been illustrated or have appeared in works not easily accessible.² Bibliographical references to the more important publications and citations of important exhibitions are given³ for those which have been fully published.

The titles are stated, together with a brief iconological description of the subject matter based on the translations of Firdausi by Jules Mohl⁴ and by A. G. and E. Warner.⁵ Occasionally, where the titles under which the miniatures have been previously published are inexact, they have been changed to correspond with the text which they illustrate. Wherever it is known, the name of the present owner is given.⁶

¹ For valued assistance in the preparation of this paper, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, who supervised the work, and to Mr. Eric Schroeder, who furnished a great deal of the information. Thanks are also due Professor Eustache de Lorey, Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson, Mr. Dikran G. Kelekian, and Demotte, Inc., New York.

Historical and stylistic aspects of the miniature are discussed by Mr. Eric Schroeder on pages 113-42 of this issue of *Ars Islamica*.

² Although many of the miniatures have not been published, photographs of the great majority of them are available in the Archives Photographiques, whose numbers for them are all herein mentioned. This agency provided also the illustrations for Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, 13, 14, 16, 19, 23, 24, 26, 29, 31, 38, 40, 44, 45, 48, 51-54, 57, and 58. For photographs for Nos. 1 and 39 I am indebted to the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

³ In addition to discussions of the paintings in the texts of works herein referred to, there is a lengthy essay in I. Stchoukine's *La Peinture iranienne sous les derniers 'Abbāsides et les Îl-Khâns* (Brussels, 1936). A bibliography is given by K. Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350," *Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, LIV (1937), Hft. 1-2, 23-24; a bibliography by H. Buchthal and O. Kurz supplementing Holter's list will be published in *Ars Islamica*, VII, 1.

⁴ *Le Livre des rois par Abou'lkasim Firdousi* (Paris, 1876-78).

⁵ *The Shāhnāma of Firdausi* (London, 1910).

⁶ Complications resulting from the current situation in Europe have prevented a complete tracing of all of the illustrated pages in the manuscript. Thus an unidentified court scene in the A. Chester Beatty Collection is probably identical with one of the miniatures of unknown ownership.

1. *Ḍaḥḥāk Enthroned (Fig. 2)*

23.5 Collection.—Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Text.—J. Mohl (trans.), *Le Livre des rois, par Abou 'lkasim Firdousi* (Paris, 1876–78), I, 45; A. G. Warner and E. Warner, *The Shāhnāma of Firdausi* (London, 1910), I, 135.

Ḍaḥḥāk, an Arab prince, is misled by Iblīs, the Devil. He allows Iblīs to kill his father, the king of Arabia, and he himself becomes king of that country and later of Iran. Iblīs kisses Ḍaḥḥāk, and as a result of the salutation two serpents which must be fed daily on the brains of two youths spring from the shoulders of the king. Ḍaḥḥāk, originally an evil spirit of Indo-Iranian nature worship becomes, in Firdausi, the protagonist of the Semites in their dealings with the people of Iran.

Reproductions: Paris, Archives Photographiques d'Art et d'Histoire, 8592.

2. *Farīdūn Questions His Mother About His Lineage (Fig. 3)*

Collection.—Demotte, Inc., New York.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 59; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 152.

Farīdūn, son of Abtīn and Farānak, is, upon the death of his father at the hand of Ḍaḥḥāk, given over to a hermit for safekeeping. When he is grown he seeks out his mother and discovers his noble lineage.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8593.

3. *Farīdūn Captures Ḍaḥḥāk (Fig. 4)*

Collection.—Demotte, Inc., New York.

Text.—(The miniature has been affixed to a folio from another portion of the poem. The text herein given refers to the episode illustrated by the miniature.) Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 79; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 166.

The Iranians, revolting against Ḍaḥḥāk, are led by Kāwah, a smith, who puts the noble Farīdūn in power. The latter, during the absence of the tyrant, invades his castle and captures him upon his return.

4. *Farīdūn Leading Ḍaḥḥāk Captive (Fig. 5)*

Collection.—A. Chester Beatty, Esq., London.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 82–83; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 169.

After Farīdūn has captured Ḍaḥḥāk, he binds him and exposes him to die instead of killing him by the sword.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8584.

5. *Farīdūn, as a Dragon, Tests His Sons*

Collection.—A. Chester Beatty, Esq., London.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 101–2; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 186–87.

To try the valor of his three sons, Farīdūn changes himself into a dragon and confronts them. Īradj, the youngest, unwittingly gratifies the paternal pride by telling the beast to beware of the sons of such a sire as theirs.



FIG. 2—DAIḤĀK ENTHRONED

R3.5



FIG. 3—FARĪDŪN QUESTIONS HIS MOTHER ABOUT HIS LINEAGE (FRAGMENT)

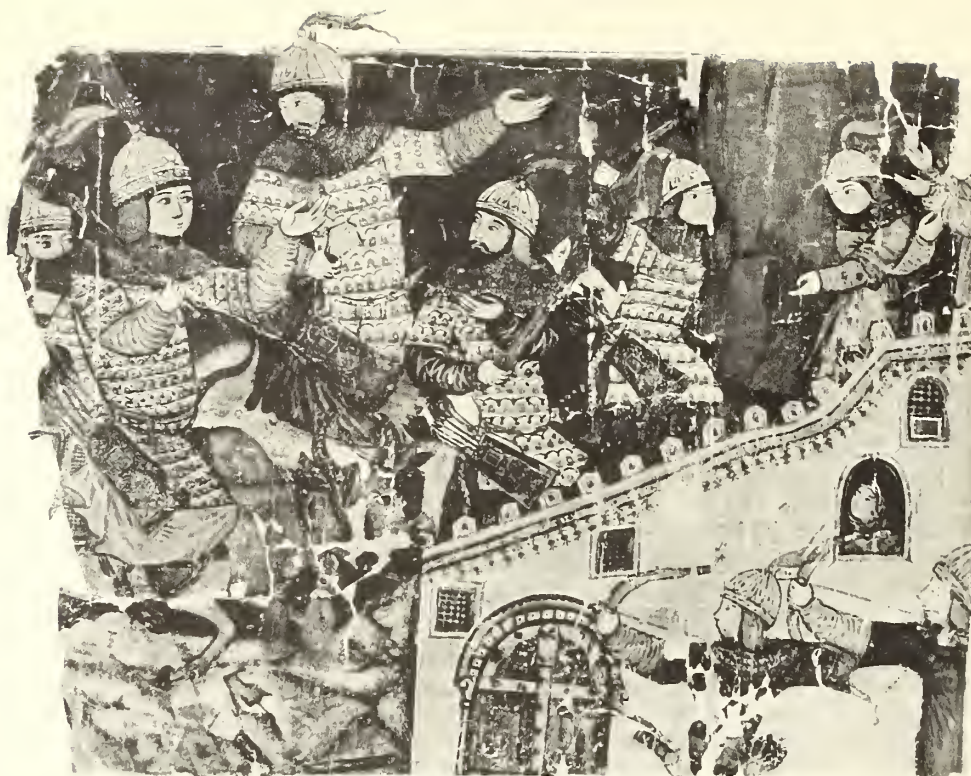


FIG. 4—FARĪDŪN CAPTURES ԴԱԻԻԱԿ



FIG. 5—FARĪDŪN LEADING ԴԱԻԻԱԿ CAPTIVE



FIG. 6—SALM AND TÜR KILLING ĪRADJ



FIG. 7—COFFIN OF ĪRADJ BROUGHT TO FARĪDŪN



FIG. 8—ZĀL PAYS HOMAGE TO SHAH MINŪCIHR



FIG. 9—AFRĀSIYĀB KILLING NAWDAR



FIG. 10—KAI KĀ'ŪS AND HIS PALADINS KILLING THE WIZARDS OF MAZANDERAN

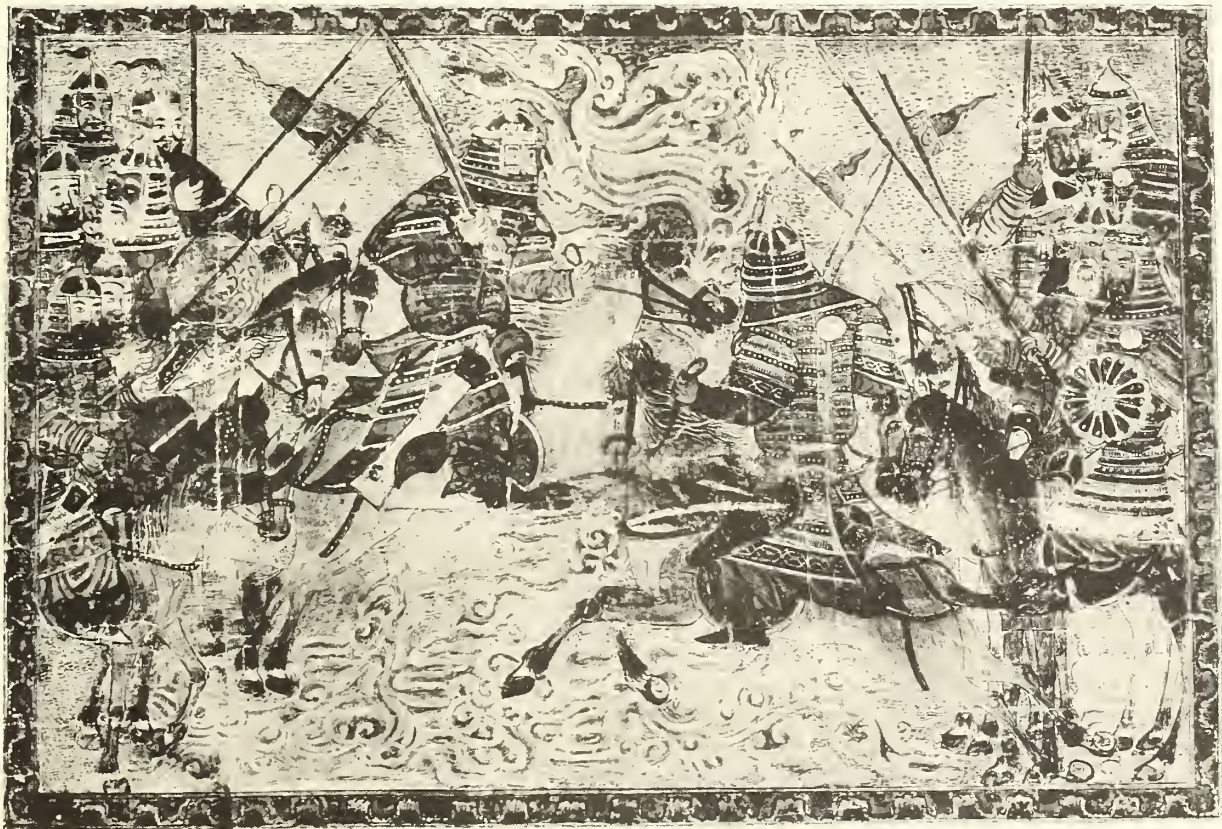


FIG. 11—ISKANDAR KILLS FŪR IN BATTLE



FIG. 12—FARĀMARZ KILLS MIHR-I NŪSH IN BATTLE



FIG. 13—COMBAT BETWEEN RUSTAM AND ISFANDIYĀR



FIG. 14—RUSTAM SLAYING SHAGHĀD

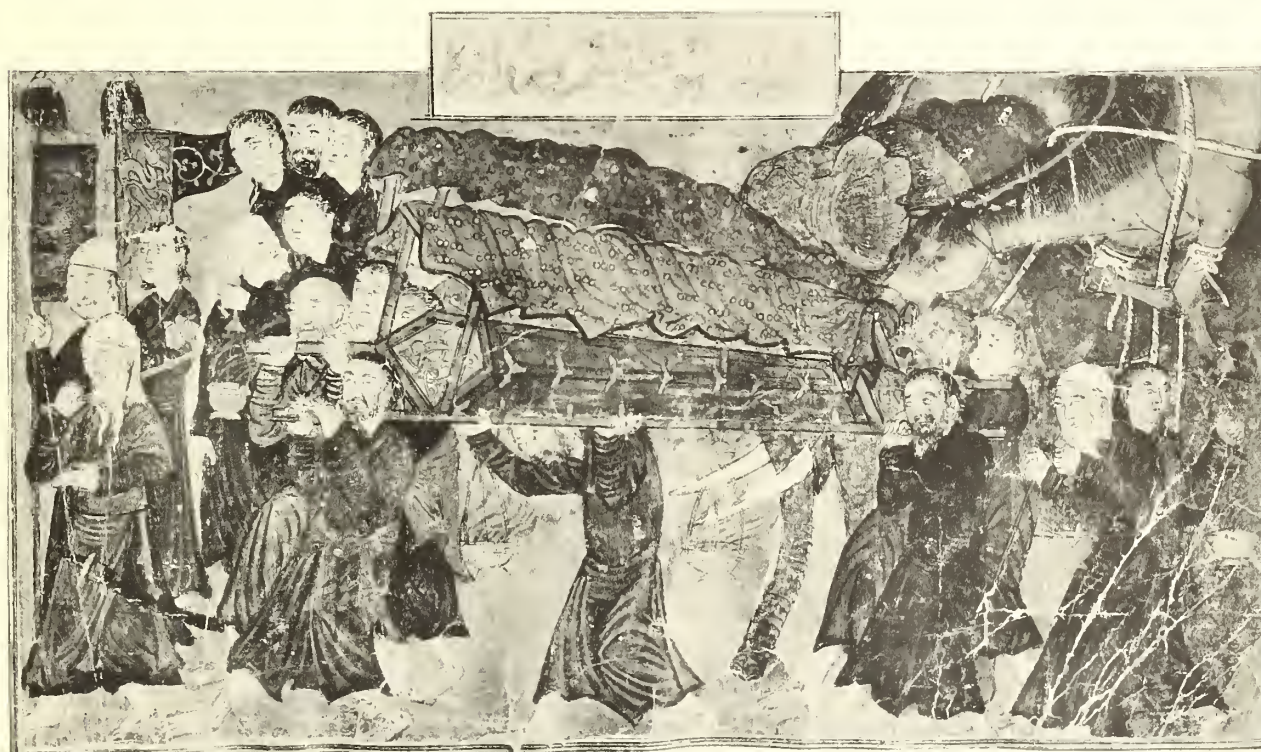


FIG. 15—FUNERAL OF RUSTAM

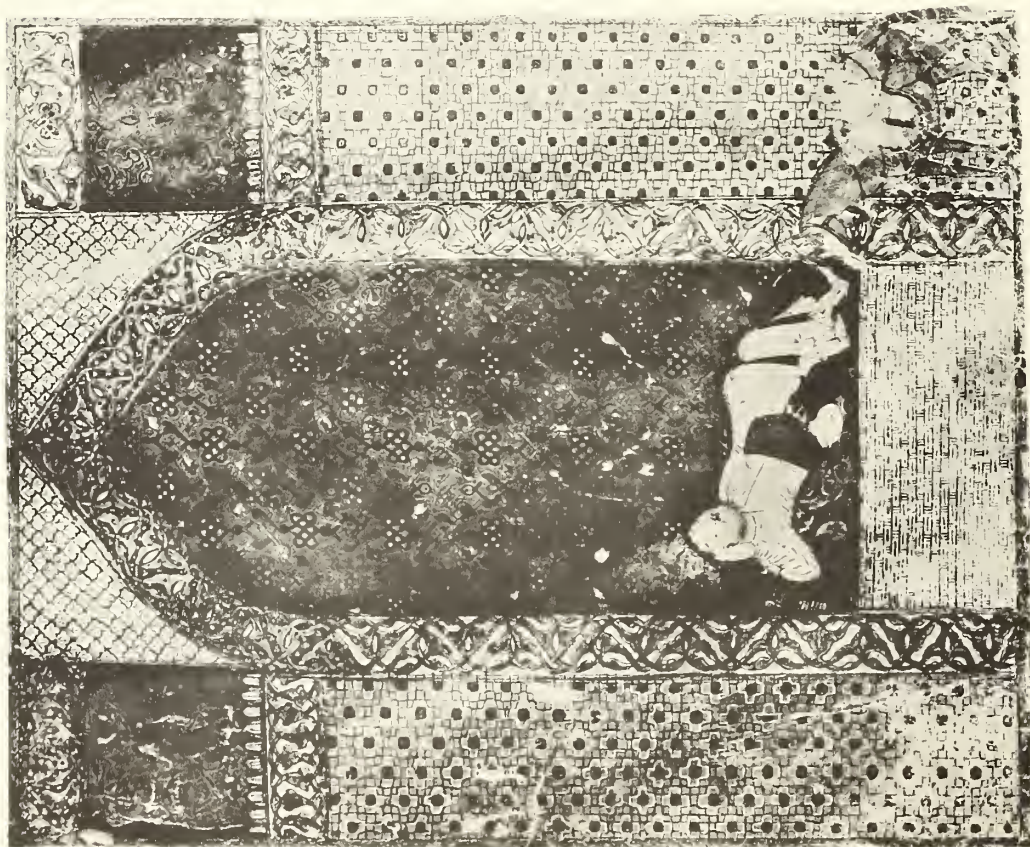


FIG. 16—DĀRĀB SLEEPING

30.78



FIG. 17—KING KĀID OF HIND AND THE SAGE MĪHRĀN

No. 59

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8622; E. Kühnel, "History of Miniature Painting and Drawing," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London and New York, 1939), V, Pl. 842 A.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933), p. 48, No. 29 (S). New York: Demotte, Inc., 1930; see E. Blochet, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Persian Paintings Held at the Galleries of Demotte, Inc.* (New York, 1930), p. 13, No. 3. New York: Demotte, Inc., 1934; see R. M. Riefstahl, *An Exhibition of Persian and Indian Miniature Paintings from the Collections of Demotte, Inc.* (New York, 1934), p. 13, No. 3.

6. *Salm and Tūr Killing Īradj* (Fig. 6)

Collection.—A. Chester Beatty, Esq., London.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 120; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 200–201.

Farīdūn divides the world between his three sons, giving to Salm the western part of the Indo-European race, to Tūr the Turanian, and to Īradj the Iranian lands. In jealousy, however, the elder brothers murder Īradj, their father's favorite.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8618.

7. *Coffin of Īradj Brought to Farīdūn* (Fig. 7)

Collection.—Henri Vever, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 122; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 202–3.

Farīdūn, gone out to welcome his favorite son, is overcome with grief at the discovery of his death.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8588; E. de Lorey, "L'École de Tabriz," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, I (1935), Pl. XV, C.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (O). Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see H. Corbin, *Les Arts de l'Iran, l'ancienne Perse et Bagdad* (Paris, 1938), p. 136, No. 1.

8. *Farīdūn Mourning Īradj*

Collection.—Henri Vever, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 124; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 204.

Farīdūn, holding in his arms the head of Īradj, which has been severed from the body, mourns over it in the garden of the deceased.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8607; De Lorey, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV, A; K. Erdmann, "La Mostra d'arte Persiana a Londra," *Dedalo*, XI (1930–31), 821; R. Grousset, *The Civilizations of the East* (New York, 1931), I, 248, Fig. 179; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Pl. 836, A.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (M). Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 2.

9. *Zāl Climbs to the Room of Rūdāba*

Collection.—Charles Gillet, Lyons.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 208; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 271.

Zāl, the white haired son of the paladin, Sām, falls in love with Rūdāba, daughter of the idolatrous king of Kabul, much to the displeasure of everyone. According to the text, Rūdāba lets down her splendid hair, which Zāl uses as a ladder. The miniature, however, does not follow the text exactly, since Zāl is shown climbing up a rope.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8594; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Corbin, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII; M. S. Dimand, "Islamic Miniature Painting and Book Illumination," *Bull. Metropolitan Mus. Art*, XXVIII (1933), No. 10, Pl. opp. p. 166; De Lorey, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII B; *idem*, "Les Miniatures musulmanes exposées au Metropolitan Museum," *Beaux arts*, n.s., 72 (1933), No. 44, 1; A. B. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane du XII^e au XVII^e siècle* (Paris et Bruxelles, 1929), Pl. XXV, Fig. 36; P. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914), II, Pl. 29.

Exhibitions.—New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933–34. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 9.

10. *Sīndukht Discovers the Correspondence Between Zāl and Rūdāba*

Collection.—Henri Vever, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 222; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 281.

Sīndukht, mother of Rūdāba, questions the go-between who carries letters and gifts for the lovers, Zāl and Rūdāba. The Iranian Juliet stands by.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot. 8612; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII A; De Lorey, "L'École de Tabriz," Pl. XVII A; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 33; Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pl. 23.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House; 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (E). Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 6.

11. *Zāl Pays Homage to Shah Minūčihir (Fig. 8)*

Collection.—Ex-Demotte, Inc., New York.

Text.—(The miniature has been affixed to a folio from another portion of the poem. The text herein given relates to the episode illustrated by the miniature.) Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 257; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 306.

Zāl, a messenger from his father, Sām, tries to win the consent of the shah to his marriage to Rūdāba.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8609.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 29 (R). New York: Demotte, Inc., 1930; see Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 14, No. 5. New York: Demotte, Inc., 1934; see Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, p. 13, No. 4.

12. *Zāl Interrogated by the Mobeds*

Collection.—Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Text.—(The miniature has been affixed to a folio from another portion of the poem. The

text herein given refers to the episode illustrated by the miniature). Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 258; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 307.

Minūčīhr puts the young Zāl through a number of tests, among them an oral examination by the Zoroastrian priests.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8628; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, p. 838 (color plate).

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1930; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (C).

13. *Afrāsiyāb Killing Nawdar (Fig. 9)*

Collection.—Joseph Homberg, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 335; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 363.

Nawdar, son of Minūčīhr, ruled oppressively, and his subjects revolted. Afrāsiyāb, son of the king of Tūrān, is sent to invade Iran; he kills Nawdar and assumes the crown.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8626.

Exhibitions.—Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 10.

14. *Shah Zav, Son of Tahmasp, Enthroned (Fig. 1)*

Collection.—Henri Vever, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 344-47; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 370-72.

Zav, son of Tahmasp and descended from the line of Farīdūn, is made shah on the advice of Zāl, after the disorders following the death of Nawdar.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8615.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (K). Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1931; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 4.

15. *Shah Garshāsp Enthroned*

Collection.—Jean Pozzi, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 348; Warner, *op. cit.*, I, 374.

Garshāsp, son of Zav, succeeds his father. War with Afrāsiyāb, traditional enemy of Iran, is renewed.

Reproductions: Paris, Arch. Phot., 8591; E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting, XIIth-XVIIth Century* (London, 1929), Pl. XLV; *idem*, *Collection Jean Pozzi* (Paris, 1930), Pl. III.

16. *Kai Kā'ūs and His Paladins Killing the Wizards of Mazanderan (Fig. 10)*

Collection.—D. K. Kelekian, New York.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, I, 429; Warner, *op. cit.*, II, 62.

Shah Kai Kā'ūs is captured by the White Div of Mazanderan and is freed by Rustam and his paladins. After the rescue there is a general slaughter of the wizards.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8616; R. M. Riefstahl, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Persian and Indian Miniature Paintings in the Collection of Dikran Khan Kelekian* (New York, 1934), Pl. 4.

Exhibitions.—New York: D. K. Kelekian, 1934; see Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, p. 10, No. 4.

17. *Isfandiyār Reproaches Gushtāsp and Demands the Throne*

Collection.—Unknown.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, IV, 455–58; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 170–72.

Shah Gushtāsp is helped out of many straits by his valiant son, Isfandiyār, who is inspired not so much by filial devotion as by his father's promise to abdicate in his favor, an action which Gushtāsp always postpones.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8621; Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 21.

18. *Paladin Zāl Greets Paladin Bahman*

Collection.—Jean Pozzi, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, IV, 472; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 183.

Zāl, father of Rustam, greets Bahman, son of Isfandiyār. Bahman has come to bring Rustam to pay homage to Shah Gushtāsp.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8604; Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. XLVI; *idem*, *Collection Jean Pozzi*, Pl. IV, IV bis (color plate).

Exhibitions.—Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 12.

19. *Farāmarz Kills Mihr-i Nūsh in Battle (Fig. 12)*

Collection.—E. W. Forbes, Cambridge, Mass.

Text: Mohl, *op. cit.*, IV, 525; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 225 ff.

Written in the compartment at the top of the miniature is: "The slaying of the sons of Isfandiyār by the brother of Rustam and the son of Rustam"—that is, Zawāra and Farāmarz kill Mihr-i Nūsh and Nūsh Āzar. In the distich immediately above the miniature it is stated that Mihr-i Nūsh accidentally decapitates his own horse and Farāmarz kills him on foot. As Schroeder has pointed out, the illustration is inexact, perhaps because the artist is following an old composition based on a variant of the text, perhaps because he was inventing or was imperfectly acquainted with the text. (This sort of divergence between text and miniature is found elsewhere in the manuscript—see Number 9.) In the miniature an elderly man attacks Mihr-i Nūsh with a sword while the young man behind him (of an age appropriate for Farāmarz) wears a helmet on which the name of Farāmarz is inscribed. But the miniature cannot illustrate the killing of Nūsh Āzar by the older Zawāra, since Nūsh Āzar was pierced with a lance.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8602.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 29 (W). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933–34.

20. *Combat Between Rustam and Isfandiyār (Fig. 13)*

Collection.—The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, IV, 529; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 229.

Rustam apologizes for the killing of Isfandiyār's sons by Zawāra and Farāmarz and offers

to give satisfaction by having the guilty ones slain. Isfandiyār, however, can feel avenged only by the death of Rustam. They fight, and Rustam is severely wounded.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8603; *Handbook of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Mo.* (Kansas City, 1939), p. 135, Fig. 5.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 29 (T).

21. *Rustam Slays Isfandiyār with a Double Pointed Arrow*

Collection.—E. W. Forbes, Cambridge, Mass.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, IV, 545; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 243.

On the second day of the combat between Rustam and Isfandiyār, the former, on the advice of the Sīmurgh, slays the otherwise invulnerable hero by shooting him with a double-pointed arrow.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8587; M. Aga-Oglu, *Exhibition of Islamic Art at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum* (San Francisco, 1937), No. 40; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, V, Pl. 835 B; A. B. Sakisian, "La Miniature à l'exposition d'art persan de Burlington House," *Syria*, XII (1931), Pl. XXXI, 2.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (B). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933-34. San Francisco: M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, 1937; see Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, p. 28, No. 40.

22. *Funeral of Isfandiyār*

Collection.—Metropolitan Museum of Art., New York.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, IV, 554 ff; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 251 ff.

Rustam honors the corpse of Isfandiyār whom he has unwillingly been forced to kill. The most elaborate richness has been employed.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8585; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI A; *Guide to the Collections, Metropolitan Museum of New York*, Pt. I, *Ancient and Oriental Art* (New York, 1937), fig. on p. 52; A. B. Sakisian, "Persian Drawings," *Burlington Mag.*, LXIX (1936), 14-20, Pl. I B; *idem*, "L'Exposition de miniatures et de l'enluminures musulmanes du Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York," *Syria*, XV (1934), Pl. XXXIII, 2; M. S. Dimand, Detail photograph in *U. S. Camera* (New York, 1935), Pl. 174.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (D). New York: Demotte, Inc., 1930; see Blochet, *Demotte Catalogue*, p. 14, No. 6.

23. *Rustam Slaying Shaghād (Fig. 14)*

Collection.—Sir Bernhard Eckstein, London.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, IV 576 ff.; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 271.

Rustam's jealous half-brother, Shaghād, traps him and his faithful horse, Rakhsh, in a

spear-lined pit. Before he dies, however, Rustam avenges himself—he tricks Shaghād into stringing his bow and then kills him.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8583; Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, No. 42; De Lorey, "L'École de Tabriz," Pl. XIII.

Exhibitions.—Detroit: Institute of Arts, 1935. San Francisco: M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, 1937; see Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, p. 28, No. 42.

24. *Funeral of Rustam (Fig. 15)*

Collection.—Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, IV, 581; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 274–75.

Farāmarz is sent to Kabul to recover the bodies of Rustam and Zawāra which he sends back to Zābulistān. The body of the prodigious horse, Rakhsh, is carried by elephant, and the coffins of the two brothers are passed from hand to hand through the multitudes who line the road.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8600; A. Coomaraswamy, "Early Arabic and Persian Paintings," *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts, Boston*, XXI (1923), fig. on p. 51; De Lorey, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV B.

25. *Farāmarz Pursuing the Kābulīs*

Collection.—Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, IV, 583; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 276.

After the period of mourning for Rustam, Farāmarz leads an army into Kabul where he successfully avenges Rustam.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., AA28; Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, No. 38; Blochet, *Musliman Painting*, Pl. XLIV; G. Migeon, *Mussulman Art* (Paris, 1922), Pl. 40, No. 140; *idem*, *Manuel d'art musulman* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), I, 143, Fig. 21; A. B. Sakisian, "L'École mongole de miniature en Perse aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Jahrb. d. asiatischen Kunst*, II (1925), Pl. 91, Fig. 3; *idem*, *La Miniature persane*, Pl. XXII, Fig. 31; I. Stchoukine, *Les Miniatures persanes* (Paris, 1933), Pl. III.

Exhibitions.—New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933–34. San Francisco: M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, 1937; see Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, p. 28, No. 38. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 135, No. 14.

26. *Dārāb Sleeping (Fig. 16)*

30.78 Collection.—Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 27; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 305.

Dārāb, a prince, is raised by foster parents and is unaware of his royal parentage. He enters the army of his mother, Queen Humā'ī, and during a storm goes to sleep in a rich though ruined vault. As General Rashnawād is passing, a miraculous voice calls his attention to the youth.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8610; De Lorey, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI, B.

27. *Battle of Rashnawād with the Rūmīs*

Collection.—Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 27; Warner, *op. cit.*, V, 305.

Dārāb proves his valor when Rashnawād makes him leader of the scouts in the war against Rūm.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8589; Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 22.

28. *Iskandar Enthroned*

Collection.—Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 74 ff; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 85.

Upon assuming the throne of Iran after the death of his half-brother, Dārā, Iskandar attempts to gain the loyalty of the nobles, and he marries Rūshanak, daughter of Dārā.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., OA684; Blochet, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVII; Migeon, *Musulman Art*, Pl. 42, No. 139 (color plate); Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI, Fig. 37; Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV.

Exhibitions.—Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 15.

29. *King Kaid of Hind and the Sage Mihrān (Fig. 17)*

Collection.—A. Chester Beatty, Esq., London.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 88–97; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 91–97.

The coming of Iskandar to Hind is foretold by the sage, who advises the king not to offer battle, but to give to the warrior his daughter, his sage, his leech, and his wonderful cup which neither heat nor drinking can empty.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8624.

30. *Iskandar Defeats the Army of Fūr of Hind*

Collection.—E. W. Forbes, Cambridge, Mass.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 115; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 116 ff.

The Battles of Hydaspes (Jhelum), in which Iskandar defeated the army of the king of India (Porus) in 326 B.C. Iskandar's artificers invented the fire-producing iron horses and riders to combat the Indian elephants.

Reproductions.—Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, Fig. 41; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI, B; C. F. Kelley, "Persian and Indian Miniature Painting," *Bull. Art. Instit. Chicago*, XXVII (1933), fig. on p. 46.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 29 (X). Chicago: Art Institute, 1933. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933–34. San Francisco: M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, 1937; see Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, p. 28, No. 41.

31. *Iskandar Kills Fūr in Battle (Fig. 11)*

Collection.—C. Filippo, New York.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 122; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 117.

The battle seen in the preceding miniature is decided by single combat between the leaders.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8623.

32. *Ṭainūsh before Iskandar, and the Visit to the Brahmans*

Collection.—Henri Vever, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 153–54; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 142–43.

Beneath a blossom-scattering tree, Iskandar gives money to Prince Ṭainūsh, son of Queen Ḳaidāfa, whom he has promised to protect. He then mounts his horse and rides to the city of the Brahmans.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8613; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. X (color plate); M. S. Dimand, *Islamic Miniature Painting* (New York, 1933), Pl. 12; Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 820; Migeon, *Manuel*, I, 141, Fig. 20; Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 26.

Exhibitions.—London, Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 29 (W). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933–34. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 7.

33. *Iskandar Fights the Ḥabash Monster*

Collection.—Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Text.—(This miniature has been affixed to a folio from another portion of the poem. The text herein given refers to the episode illustrated by the miniature.) Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 161; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 149.

In the land of Ḥabash (“Ethiopia”) the army of Iskandar has many encounters with strange phenomena. Among them is a horned monster, larger than an elephant.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8620; Coomarswamy, *op. cit.*, fig. on p. 28; A. W. Karnaghan, “The Ross Collection,” *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts, Boston*, XXX (1932), fig. on p. 14; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, V, Pl. 840.

34. *Iskandar and His Warriors Fight a Dragon*

Collection.—Madame de Béhague, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 164; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 151 ff.

Another adventure in Ḥabash is the killing of a dragon which has not been fed all day.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8590; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, V, Pl. 841.

Exhibitions.—Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 17.

35. *Iskandar Dismounts to Climb the Mountain of the Angel of Death*

Collection.—Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 176; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 160–61.

Iskandar goes into the Gloom to seek the Water of Life and to speak to the Bird of Isrāfil who shows him the Archangel and tells him to turn back.



FIG. 18—ISKANDAR BEFORE THE TALKING TREE

35.23

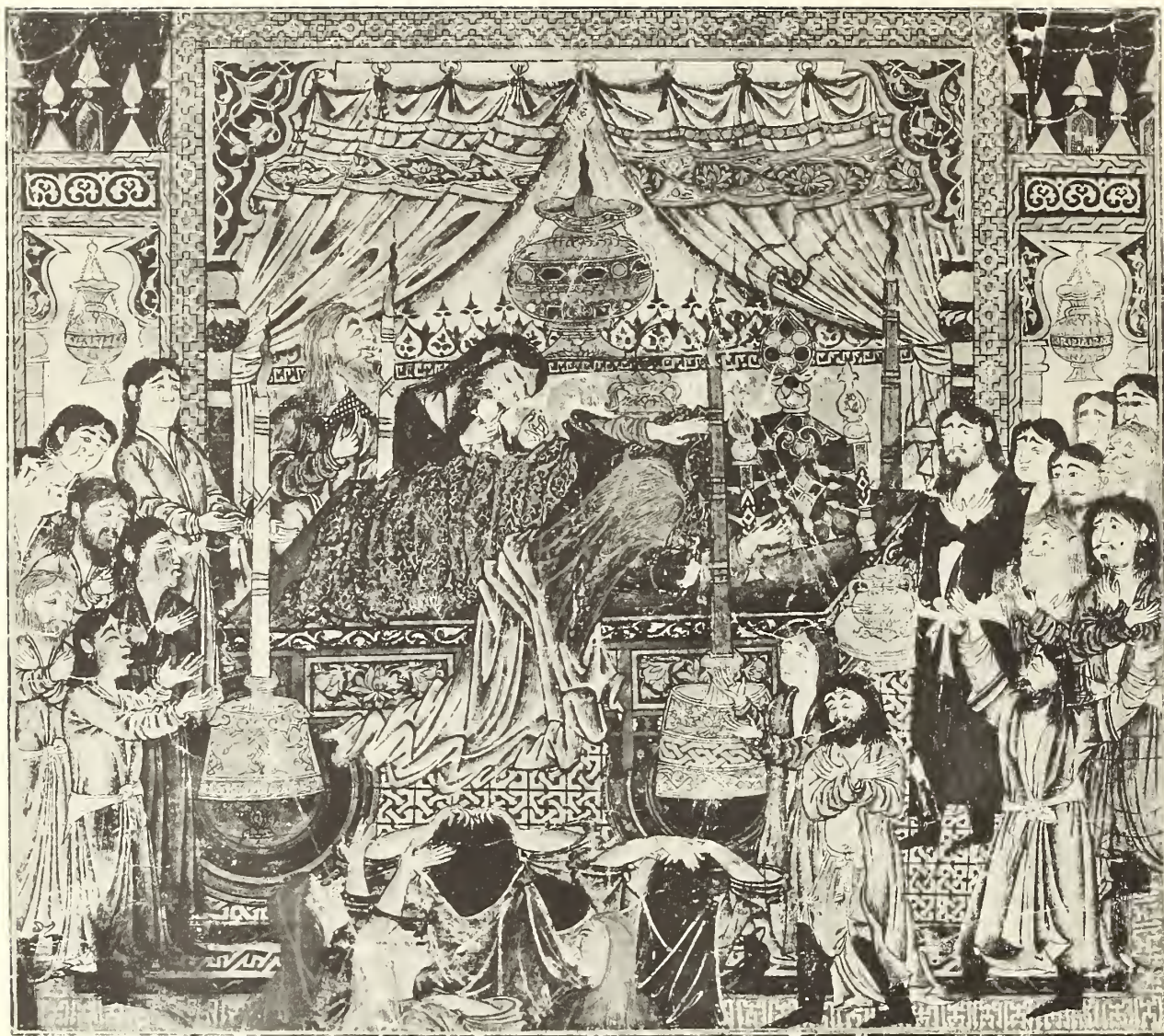


FIG. 19—THE BIER OF ISKANDAR

38.3



FIG. 21—ARDASHĪR AND HIS DASTŪR

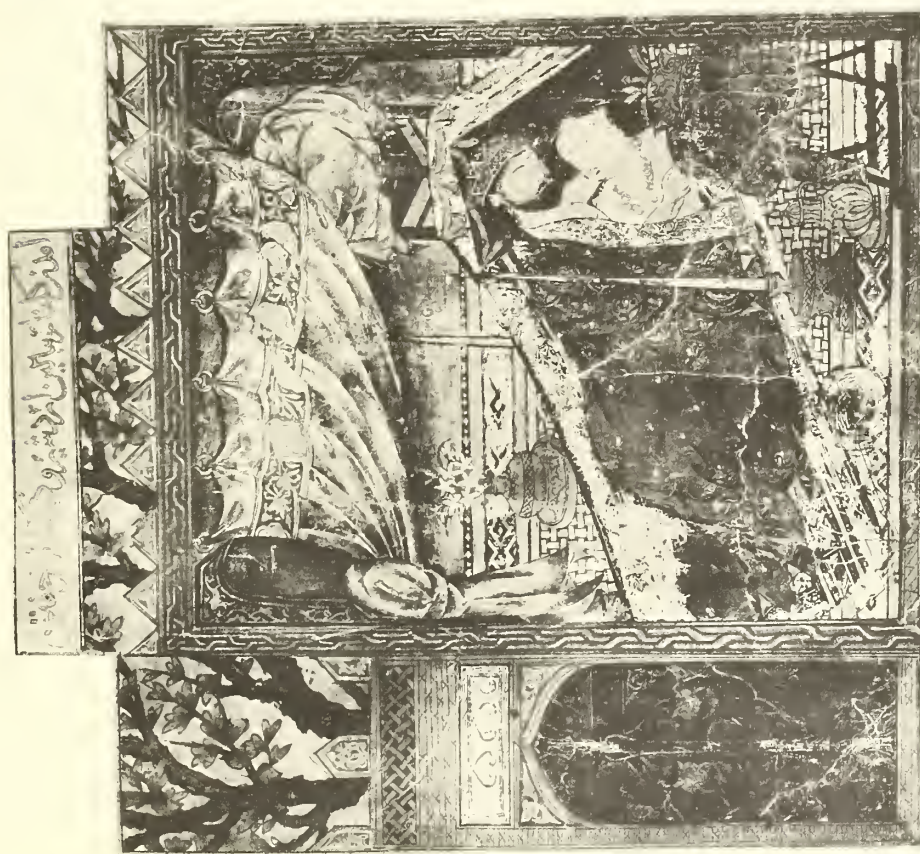


FIG. 20—ARDASHĪR AND GULNĀR



FIG. 22—BAHRĀM BAHRĀMIYĀN ENTHRONED



FIG. 23—BAHRĀM GŪR IN THE TREASURE HOUSE OF JAMSHID



FIG. 24—BAHRĀM GŪR HUNTING ONAGERS

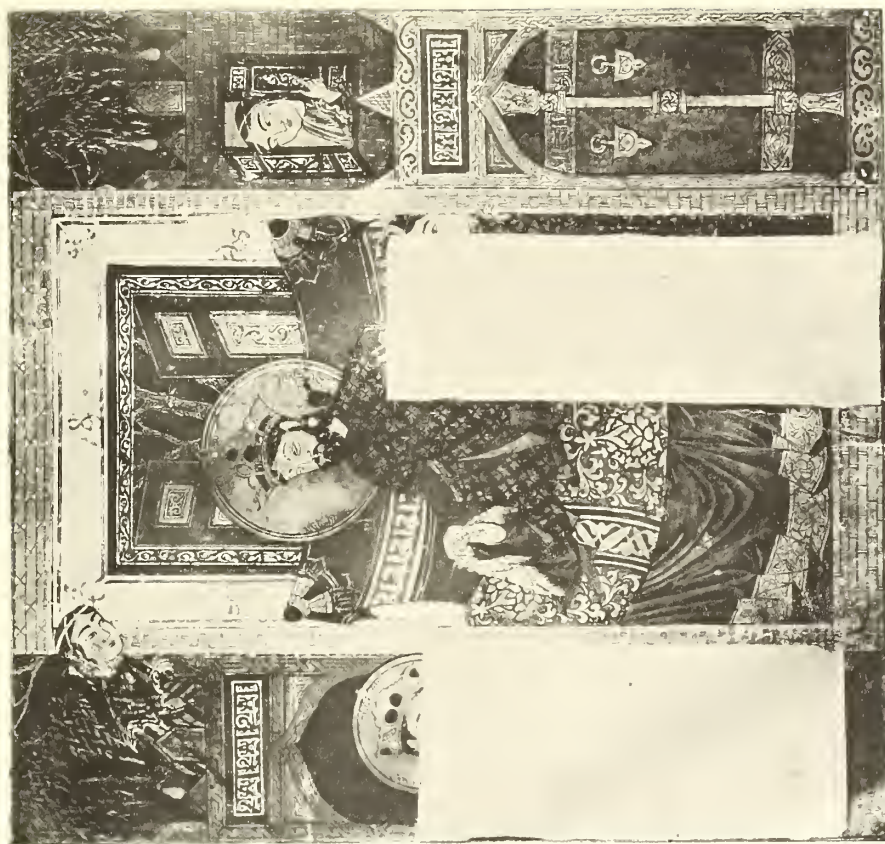


FIG. 25—BAHRĀM GŪR SENDS NARSĪ AS VICEROY TO KHURASAN



FIG. 26—BAHRĀM GŪR KILLING A WOLF



FIG. 27—NÜSHĪRWĀN'S FIFTH BANQUET FOR THE SAGE BUZURDIMIHİR



FIG. 28—NÜSHĪRWĀN WRITES TO THE KHĀKĀN OF CHINA



FIG. 29—NŪSHĪRWĀN EATING FOOD BROUGHT BY THE SONS OF MAHBŪD

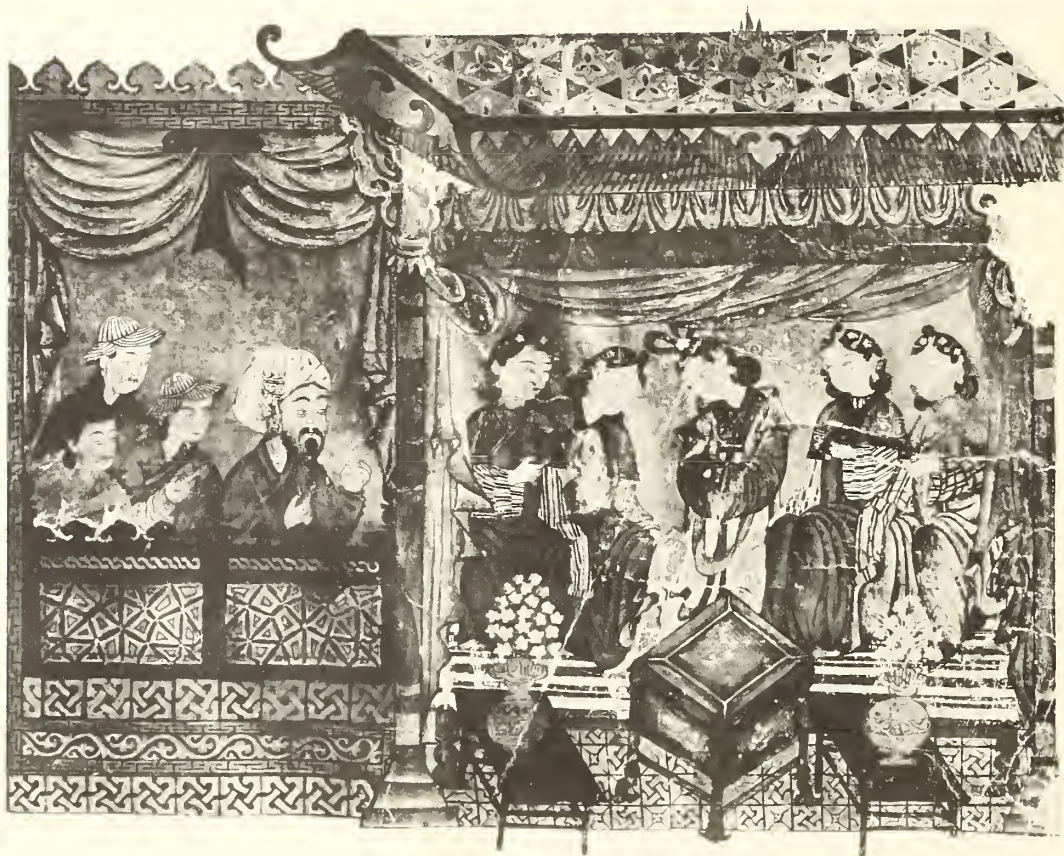


FIG. 30—MIHRĀN SITĀD SELECTS A CHINESE PRINCESS FOR NŪSHĪRWĀN

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., AA29; Migeon, *Mussulman Art*, Pl. 41, No. 141; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIV, Fig. 34; Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, Pl. V.

Exhibitions.—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 16.

36. *Iskandar Leaving the Land of Darkness*

Collection.—Madame de Béhague, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 177; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 162.

While Iskandar and his men are in the Land of Gloom a voice warns them that those who take the precious stones in which the place abounds will regret it, and that those who take none will regret it more. The truth of this prediction is borne out when they come back into the light.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8614; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, V, Pl. 842B.

Exhibitions.—Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 18.

37. *Iskandar Building a Barrier Against Gog and Magog*

Collection.—Henri Vever, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 180; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 163–64.

The barrier in the Caucasus to exclude the savage tribes of the North from the civilized world. A vitrifying process to strengthen the stones is shown.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8601; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVB; Grousset, *op. cit.*, I, 246, Fig. 177; De Lorey, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI B; Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 28.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (I). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 5.

38. *Iskandar Before the Talking Tree (Fig. 18)*

35 13 Collection.—Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 185; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 167–68.

On the brink of the world Iskandar comes upon a talking tree which foretells his death.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8582; Grousset, *op. cit.*, I, 250, Fig. 181.

39. *The Bier of Iskandar (Fig. 19)*

36 13 Collection.—Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 209; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 187.

Iskandar dies away from home, and his body, wrapped in brocades, is brought to Alexandria, where he is mourned by all of his subjects, including Arastātālīs ("Aristotle").

Reproductions.—*The V. Everit Macy Collection, Sale Catalogue* (New York: Amer. Art Assn., Anderson Galleries, Inc., Jan. 6, 1938), No. 432, fig. on p. 96.

40. *Ardashīr and Gulnār (Fig. 20)*

Collection.—Jean Pozzi, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 227; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 218.

As a young man, Ardashīr, who is to become the first Sasanian king, is received by Ardawān, the last Parthian ruler. Gulnār, favorite of Ardawān, falls in love with him.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8605; Blochet, *Collection Jean Pozzi*, Pl. V (color plate).

Exhibitions.—Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 13.

41. *Combat Between Ardashīr and Ardawān*

Collection.—Institute of Arts, Detroit.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 240; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 227.

Ardashīr, a descendant of Isfandiyār and therefore the rightful king of Iran, is pursued by Ardawān, who engages him in combat.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8586; Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, No. 39; *idem*, "An Illustrated Page from the Demotte Shahnama," *Bull. Detroit Instit. Arts*, XV (1935), No. 1, frontispiece; *Toledo Museum of Art, Catalogue of Special Persian Exhibition* (Toledo, Ohio: 1935), Pl. II, No. 321; Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 20.

Exhibitions.—Toledo, Ohio: Museum of Art, 1935. San Francisco: M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, 1937; see Aga-Oglu, *San Francisco Catalogue*, p. 28, No. 39.

42. *Ardawān Brought Before Ardashīr*

Collection.—Henri Vever, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 241; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 228.

Ardawān is taken in battle and brought before Ardashīr, who has him put to death.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8595; L. Binyon, *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), Pl. 30; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVA; G. Migeon, "Miniature persane," *L'Illustration* (Dec. 6, 1930), color plate.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (A). Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 3.

43. *Ardashīr and His Wife*

Collection.—Henri Vever, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 267; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 259–60.

Ardashīr marries the daughter of Ardawān and her brothers induce her to poison him. The attempt fails, however, when he drops the tainted food and feeds it to fowls, who die upon partaking of it.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8611; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, V, Pl. 836B.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (N).

44. *Ardashīr and His Dastūr (Fig. 21)*

Collection.—Madame de Béhague, Paris.

Text.—(This miniature has been affixed to a folio from another portion of the poem. The

text herein given refers to the episode illustrated by the miniature.) Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 272; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 263.

After Ardashīr's wife tries to poison him, he orders her execution. His Dastūr, however, upon learning that she is with child, conceals her in his house so that Ardashīr's heir may be born. He raises the son, Shāpūr, about whose existence his father does not learn for several years. In order to avoid calumny, the Dastūr, upon taking the queen into his household, takes the precaution of castrating himself and placing the severed parts in a sealed and dated package deposited in the king's treasury. When the survival of the Queen and the existence of the prince is made known to Ardashīr, the Dastūr shows him the sealed globe.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8606.

Exhibitions.—Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 137, No. 19.

45. *Bahrām Bahrāmiyān Enthroned* (Fig. 22)

Collection.—A. Chester Beatty, Esq., London.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 331; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 313.

Bahrām Bahrāmiyān, a Sasanian king, rules with justice and bounty. He is known as Kirmanshah.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8599; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIIIB; Blochet, *Demotte Catalogue*, illustration on p. 15.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 48, No. 29 (Q). New York: Demotte, Inc., 1930; see Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 14, No. 8.

46. *The Hanging of Mani*

Collection.—C. Filippo, New York.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 381; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 359.

This religious leader is known in the Islamic world only for his accomplishments as a painter, and, according to Firdausi, is executed because he is a "Worshipper of Pictures." His flayed body is hung from a tree while the skin lies on the ground below.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8627; Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 30; J. Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei* (Klagenfurt, 1933), Pl. 79, Fig. 213.

47. *The Death of Āzāda*

Collection.—E. W. Forbes, Cambridge, Mass.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 405; Warner, *op. cit.*, VI, 382–84.

Bahrām Gūr proves his prowess as a marksman to his favorite, his lutist, Āzāda. According to Firdausi's version of the story, he loses his temper and tramples her to death when she remarks that one so skilled must be a devil.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8598; Dimand, *op. cit.*, Fig. 13; E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei in islamischen Orient* (Berlin, 1922), Pl. 36; Sakisian, "L'École mongole de miniature," Pl. 91, Fig. 4; *idem*, *La Miniature persane*, Pl. XXIV, Fig. 35; Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 27.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (G); New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933–34.

48. *Bahrām Gūr in the Treasure House of Jamshid (Fig. 23)*

35.24 Collection.—Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 479; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 36.

Bahrām Gūr enters the brick and mortar vault which bears the seal of the early Iranian monarch, Jamshid. There, among many treasures, he finds golden animals set with jewels.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8581; Grousset, *op. cit.*, I, 245, Fig. 176.

49. *Bahrām Gūr Killing a Dragon*

Collection.—Mrs. Rainey Rogers, New York.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 488; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 42–43.

Bahrām, on a hunting trip, is confronted by a dragon like a lion with long hair and breasts like those of a woman. He successfully overcomes it.

Reproductions.—De Lorey, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV A; Dimand, *op. cit.*, Fig. 11; Kühnel, "History of Miniature Painting," V, Pl. 839 (color plate). Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 822.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (F).

50. *Bahrām Gūr in a Peasant's House*

Collection.—McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 492; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 46.

Bahrām was, as a king, noted for his real interest in his subjects, and in disguise, he frequently entered their homes. In this episode he becomes angered when a peasant's wife makes complaints about the shah. The next morning, the cow refuses to give milk, and the wife remarks that such a thing can happen only when the shah becomes tyrannical. Bahrām repents.

Reproductions.—Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, No. 37; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, V, Pl. 835A.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (L). San Francisco: M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, 1938; see Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, p. 27, No. 37.

51. *Bahrām Gūr Hunting Onagers (Fig. 24)*

Collection.—Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, V, 534; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 80–81.

One of his technical accomplishments in the sport of onager hunting—from which the king derived his name, "Onager Bahrām"—is his ability to shoot an onager so that the arrow strikes the buttocks and comes through the breast. This exact feat, however, does not appear in the illustration, although the surrounding text describes it.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8596; P. Cott, "Recent Accessions of Near Eastern Miniature Painting," *Worcester Art Mus. Annual*, I (1935–36), 32, 41, Fig. 2.

Exhibitions.—Detroit: Institute of Arts, 1930. London: Burlington House, 1931; see

Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (P). New York: Demotte, Inc., 1930; see Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 14, No. 9. New York: Demotte, Inc., 1934; see Riefstahl, *Demotte Catalogue*, p. 12, No. 2.

52. *Bahrām Gūr Sends Narsī as Viceroy to Khurasan (Fig. 25)*

Collection.—Indjoudjian, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, VI, 1; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 101.

Bahrām Gūr makes his brother, Narsī, the plenipotentiary of the province of Khurasan.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8619.

53. *Bahrām Gūr Killing a Wolf (Fig. 26)*

Collection.—Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., New York.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, VI, 29; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 121–22.

Bahrām, in disguise, enters the land of Hind, where King Shāngul, afraid of the skill of the supposed stranger, and wishing to be rid of him, requests him to kill a powerful wolf, which Bahrām vanquishes with little effort.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8629; De Lorey, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIVB; Dimand, *op. cit.*, Fig. 10.

Exhibitions.—New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933–34.

54. *Nūshīrwān's Fifth Banquet for the Sage Buzurđmīhr (Fig. 27)*

Collection.—Joseph Homberg, Paris.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, VI, 219; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 304.

Shah Nūshīrwān, being disquieted by a dream, sends for the wise young man, Buzurđmīhr, who interprets the dream for him. There follows a series of banquet-symposia in which the sage displays his philosophical abilities.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8597.

Exhibitions.—Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1938; see Corbin, *op. cit.*, p. 136, No. 11.

55. *Nūshīrwān Rewards the Young Buzurđmīhr*

42.2 Collection.—^{F.G.B.}Demotte, Inc., New York.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, VI, 232; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 315.

At the seventh banquet, the king rewards the young philosopher for his wisdom with bags of gold.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8625; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, V, Pl. 837 (color plate).

56. *Nūshīrwān Eating Food Brought by the Sons of Mahbūd (Fig. 29)*

Collection.—D. K. Kelekian, New York.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, VI, 235–36; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 321.

Mahbūd, the minister of Nūshīrwān, has two sons who, every day, bring to the shah the food which their mother prepares for him. Zūrān, a wicked chamberlain, plots the downfall of

the minister by telling the shah that the fare has been poisoned. The sons immediately try to prove their mother's innocence, and they pay for their filial devotion with their lives, since Zūrān has himself attended to the poisoning.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8608; Binyon, *op. cit.*, Pl. 31.

Exhibitions.—New York: D. K. Kelekian, 1934; see Riefstahl, *Kelekian Catalogue*, p. 9, No. 3.

57. *Nūshīrwān Writes to the Khākān of Čīn (Fig. 28)*

Collection.—A. Chester Beatty, Esq., London.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, VI, 262; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 349.

The ruler of Čīn ("China") wrote to offer one of his daughters to Nūshīrwān in marriage. The shah dictates his acceptance and sends Mihrān Sitād to select the princess.

Reproductions.—Riefstahl, *Demotte Catalogue*, No. 1.

Exhibitions.—London: Burlington House, 1931; see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 47, No. 29 (H). New York: Demotte, Inc., 1930; see Blochet, *op. cit.*, p. 14, No. 10. New York: Demotte, Inc., 1934; see Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, p. 12, No. 1.

58. *Mihrān Sitād Selects a Chinese Princess for Nūshīrwān (Fig. 30)*

Collection.—Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Text.—Mohl, *op. cit.*, VI, 274; Warner, *op. cit.*, VII, 349 ff.

The Chinese king has many daughters, but only one, the daughter of the queen, is the real princess. An attempt is made to conceal her from Mihrān Sitād, who, however, is crafty enough to see through the ruse and to choose the real princess for his shah.

Reproductions.—Paris, Arch. Phot., 8617; A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Arabic and Persian Paintings," *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts, Boston*, XXI (1923), No. 126, 52.

AHMED MUSA AND SHAMS AL-DĪN: A REVIEW OF FOURTEENTH CENTURY PAINTING

BY ERIC SCHROEDER

WILLIAM OF OCCAM, CALLED "DOCTOR INVINCIBILIS," THE LEADING THEOLOGICAL SKEPTIC OF the later Middle Ages, cast the logical law of parsimony into a form known as Occam's razor: *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem* ("no more terms should be employed than are necessary"). Most scientists subscribe to this article in practice, but there is a certain type of caution which seeks security in the multiplication of terms, apparently assuming that a sufficiently long chain, even if it includes some redundant terms, will also of necessity include all proper ones. A famous example is the theory once advanced that the *Iliad* was written not by Homer, but by another poet of the same name. Such caution is exactly that which Occam showed to be productive of error.

The current explanation of fourteenth-century changes in Iranian painting is most cautious, but it has not saved its exponents from descriptions of paintings which suit the explanation far better than the paintings.¹ It may therefore be opportune to propose a radically different arrangement of the most important manuscripts of this period. The rearrangement may then be equated as simply as possible with the testimony of our one first-rate historical source for fourteenth-century painting, in the hope of eliminating some errors of caution. Such a revised arrangement will itself be provisional; there remain many important fourteenth-century manuscripts which are unpublished or incompletely published, and whose contents may reverse the argument now to be put forward.

From the more intelligible data which have been brought forward by various scholars² it

¹ "The Far Eastern elements in the landscape [of the Istanbul University Library Bidpai] are much more completely assimilated to the Iranian taste in these miniatures than in other manuscripts of the period." This singular description of the only landscapes in which the third dimension is, against all Iranian practice, attempted is by an eminent hand. Another is responsible for the following characterization of a hypothetical development from the Demotte *Shah Namah* to the same Bidpai: "The drawing is passing from expression of the emotional tempo of a scene in line to the freer formal presentment of something subjectively imagined." The Bidpai "Two Fishermen" (A. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane* [Paris, 1929], Pl. V) may be compared with any *Shah Namah* miniature whatever, even the great "Arda-wān Captive." My opinion is the exact opposite of the judgment quoted.

² T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (London, 1928); T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*

(Florence, 1929); F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (London, 1912); P. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914); E. Blochet, *Les Enluminures des manuscrits orientaux . . .* (Paris, 1926), referred to hereinafter as *Enluminures*; *idem*, *Les Peintures des mss. orientaux . . .* (Paris, 1914-20), referred to as *Les Peintures orientales*; *idem*, *Les Peintures des mss. arabes, persans, et turcs . . .* (Paris, 1911), referred to as *Les Peintures arabes*; *idem*, "On a Book of Kings of about 1200 A.D." *Rupam*, 41 (1930), 2-10, referred to as "Book of Kings"; *idem*, *Musulman Painting* (London, 1929); E. Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient* (Berlin, 1923), referred to as *Miniaturmalerei*; *idem*, "History of Miniature Painting and Drawing," *A Survey of Persian Art* (New York-London, 1939), Vols. III and V, referred to as *SPA.*; *idem*, "A Bidpai Manuscript of 1343-44 in Cairo," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Iranian Art and Archaeol.*, V (1937), referred to as "Bidpai Ms."; M. Aga-Oglu, "Preliminary

seems to emerge that (1) there were at the time of the Mongol invasions old Islamic book-painting styles—late Abbasid, Seljuk, post-Seljuk—with strong Iranian characteristics;³ (2) under the Mongols, and apparently in Iran, a transitional style which embodied a number of Chinese elements both in subject and draughtmanship arose;⁴ (3) the Rashīdiya University was probably the source and center of a later and more homogeneous style;⁵ (4) Shiraz under the Indjū family was probably the center of a painting style characterized by crude finish and the use of red or, more rarely, yellow backgrounds, a style in which Mongol details of iconography and drawing were quite powerless to modify a totally old-Iranian character;⁶ (5) the middle of the fourteenth century elsewhere saw a breakdown into another transitional style, the nature of which is far from clear;⁷ (6) Shiraz under the Muzaffarid family was the home of a school whose principles of composition were radically different from those of their

Notes on Some Persian Illustrated Mss. in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi," *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), 183-99; E. de Lorey, "L'École de Tabriz," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, IX (1935), No. 1; L. T. Giusalian and M. M. Diakonov, *Iranski Miniature* (Leningrad, 1935); I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne sous les derniers 'Abbāsides et les Il-Khāns* (Bruges, 1936), referred to as *La Peinture iranienne*; *idem*, "Les Mss. illustrés musulmans de la bibliothèque du Caire," *Gazette des beaux arts*, XXIX (1935), No 4, referred to as "Les Mss. du Caire"; L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1933); B. Gray "Die Kalila wa-Dimna Handschrift der Universität Istanbul," *Pantheon*, VI (1933), referred to as "Kalila wa-Dimna"; *idem*, "Iranian Painting of the 14th Century," *Proc. Iran Soc.*, I (1938) 5, referred to as "Iranian Painting"; G. Marteau and H. Vever, *Miniatures persanes exposées au Musée des Arts Decoratifs* (Paris, 1912).

³ Among other manuscripts of which critical enumerations are given by I. Stchoukine (*La Peinture iranienne*, pp. 63-77) and by K. Holter (*Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350* [Leipzig, 1937]), particularly the Meshed al-Rāzī (Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 814), the St. Vaast Ḥarīrī (Blochet, *Enluminures*, Pls. II-IV; *Musulman Painting*, Pls. III-IX; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV), the Vienna Galen (Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, Pls. 31-34), the Cairo *Kitāb al-Baiṭara* (Stchoukine, "Les Mss. du Caire," Figs. 1-2), and the 1224 Dioscorides (Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 5-7; Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei*, p. 4-6, etc.) show strong Iranian character.

⁴ E.g., Paris *Djuwainī* of 1290 A.D. (reprinted in Gibb Memorial ed. [London, 1912], Vol. XVI, Persian introduction between pp. xx-xxi), Morgan Ibn Bakhtīshū' (Martin, *op. cit.*, II, Nos. 21-26; Kühnel, *Miniaturmale-*

rei, Pls. 14-16; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pls. XVIII-XIX; Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pls. XLII-XLIII; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pls. 819-20), and the Edinburgh Bīrūnī of 1307-8 (Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, Pls. 36-39; Arnold, *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean Art* [Oxford, 1924], Pls. 15, 17; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 823; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV).

⁵ E.g., Edinburgh and Royal Asiatic Society *Djāmī' al-Tawārīkh* 1306 and 1314 A.D. (Martin, *op. cit.*, II, Pls. 27-32; Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pls. XLVIII-LVIII, etc.), and the Istanbul 1318 mss. of the same work (Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, Figs. 1-3).

⁶ E.g., Istanbul 1330 *Shah Namah* (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pls. XV-XVII), Leningrad 1332-33 *Shah Namah* (Giusalian and Diakonov, *op. cit.*, Color Pl. I, and Pls. 1-5), the dispersed Bidpai of 1333 (Marteau and Vever, *op. cit.*, Pls. 46-47; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI; Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 19; Marteau and Vever, *op. cit.*, Color Pl. III is excellent), the dispersed *Shah Namah* of 1340-41 for Ḳawwām al-Dīn (Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pls. X-XI; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pls. 833-34). The undated "Raffi *Shah Namah*," the "Kevorkian" Ṭabarī (Marteau and Vever, *op. cit.*, Pls. 51-54; Schulz, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, Pls. H-K; Blochet, *Enluminures*, introd., Pls. 1-2; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 816 B), and the Oxford novel *Samak 'Ayyār* (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII, B; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 815) are very close. It was Stchoukine (*La Peinture iranienne*, p. 93) who assembled the evidence for assigning this group to Shiraz.

⁷ E.g., Cairo Bidpai of 1343-44 (Stchoukine, "Les Mss. du Caire," Figs. 5, 7; Kühnel, "Bidpai Ms.," Figs. 1-3).

Indjū predecessors, and in whose art Iranian character was reactive;⁸ (7) there was a Djalā'irid school, perhaps situated chiefly in Baghdad;⁹ (8) in the early Timurid period painting flourished both at Herat and at Shiraz.¹⁰

Beyond these certainties and uncontested probabilities loom the monuments which science covers with the veil of supposition or the whitewash of uneasy affirmation. In beauty, power, and strangeness they are portentous. Nothing is known about them. They are: the Demotte *Shah Namah*,¹¹ by common consent the most impressive body of Iranian painting now in existence; a group of exquisite small *Shah Namahs*,¹² much more alike in format than in drawing, composition, or iconography; the paintings for a Bidpai now remounted in an album at the University of Istanbul;¹³ and some *Shah Namah* illustrations, of which only one has been published, similarly remounted.¹⁴ The current view of the period¹⁵ has been that the Demotte book is the work of a Tabriz school, some twenty years later in composition than the Rashīdiyya manuscripts, that the Istanbul remounted Bidpai is a later fourteenth-century work intermediate between the Mongol and the Timurid styles, and that the small *Shah Namahs*, in an early style, were done about 1300. It is a view which tries to see the monuments in the framework of a gradual revolution.

⁸ The style of the 1370-71 *Shah Namah* (Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, Figs. 4-7) seems to be developed quite naturally in the 1393 *Shah Namah* (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXIX-XXX) and the 1399 *Anthology* (M. Aga-Oglu, "Landscape Miniatures," *Ars Islamica*, III (1936), 77-98, Figs. 1-9). The first two were done at Shiraz, the last is close in style to the second, and had a Farsi scribe.

⁹ B. M. Khwādīr Kirmānī ms. of 1396 done at Baghdad by Mir Ali Tabrizi and illustrated by Djunaid (Martin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 45-50; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI; Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. LXXII; Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 35; *idem*, *SPA.*, Pl. 856 A).

¹⁰ *Miscellanies* of 1410 (Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Figs. 44-48; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pls. 859, 945), 1411 (Martin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 53, 239; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Figs. 80, 82-83, 86; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pls. 858, 945), and 1420 (Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pls. 862-64 and 941 A; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXVII; and Kühnel, "Die Baysunghūr-Handschrift," *Jahrb. d. Preusz. Kunstsamml.*, LII (1931), Hft. 3, 133-51) are from Shiraz. The 1426 Sa'di (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLII B; London Exhibition of Persian Art, *Illus. Souvenir*, 1931, p. 35; *New York Metropolitan Museum Exhibition of Islamic Miniature Painting Catalogue*, 1933-34, Fig. 17) and the 1429-30 *Shah Namah* (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pls. XLII-L; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pls. 869-74) are from Herat.

¹¹ Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pls. 20-29; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXII-XXVI; Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pls. XLIV-

XLVII; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pls. X and XXIV-XXVII; Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 36; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pls. 835-42; De Lorey, *op. cit.*, Pls. XIIIc, XIV-XVII; *Macy Sale Catalogue*, Amer. Art Assn., Jan., 1938, p. 96; A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Arabic and Persian Paintings," *Boston Mus. Fine Arts Bull.*, XXI (1923), 51-52; *Kelekian Exhibition Catalogue* (New York, 1934), No. 4.

¹² The Beatty-Ghose ms. (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 831; Blochet, "Book of Kings," Figs. 1-10). The Monif mss. are not yet published. The Schulz *Shah Namah* (Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pls. 14-18; and Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 832). The Freer Gallery *Shah Namah* (Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 830) is akin to these small manuscripts.

¹³ Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pls. III-X. Gray, "Die Kalila wa-Dimna," Abb. 1-4.

¹⁴ G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris, 1907), Fig. 35.

¹⁵ Gray (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-48; and Gray, "Iranian Painting") and Stchoukine (*La Peinture iranienne*) formulated the most thoughtful and sensitive accounts. Kühnel (*SPA.*) and De Lorey have each made characteristic additions; Stchoukine (*La Peinture iranienne*, pp. 78 ff.) has given detailed consideration to many points, amplifying and modifying Gray's account. His review of his predecessors (*ibid.*, pp. 14-32) is excellent. The views of Sakisian and Blochet are, at least temporarily, rejected.

That a revolution took place in the fourteenth century is evident, and no one denies it. What will now be urged is that those extraordinary works, the Demotte *Shah Namah* and the Istanbul Bidpai, stand where their strangeness and greatness entitle them to stand, at the heart of the revolution, and that they are the handiwork of the revolutionaries themselves—men whose names are known to us.

It will be seen that, among the manuscripts of whose dating or provenance there is little doubt, the old Islamic, the early Mongol, the Rashīdiya, and the Indjū books are illustrated with drawings or paintings composed according to a very ancient formula.¹⁶ If the personages are limited in number, they are arranged in a row; if a great number are to be exhibited, the area is made tall enough for the inclusion of extra persons, who are also sometimes organized in rows.¹⁷ A very few paintings in both the older books¹⁸ and the Mongol books¹⁹ use deeper rectangles and large diagonal elements; but this variation does not give any different quality to the pictures composed. They remain diagrams, i.e., drawings explanatory in purpose, of which all elements are represented in that clarity, simplification, and completeness with which the reason apprehends them, and not in that subtle obscurity and intermittence with which they appear to the eye. In the preoccupation with a lucid arrangement of representations, the visual relationship between objects (its law—scale, and its medium—space) is ignored. Therefore large objects, such as trees and mountains, are much reduced in scale in order to exhibit them complete in the scraps of area which are left vacant by the principal subjects of the picture—human beings and animals. Nor is there any attempt to make these diminished objects appear distant. Nature's appearance is never a subject.

The color system of early Mongol manuscripts is the application of color as an auxiliary to the heavy line of contour and drapery. There is both Mesopotamian²⁰ and Chinese²¹ precedent for this. Far Eastern originals may have been colored woodcuts²² or some such popular and provincial art as has been postulated by E. Diez.²³

¹⁶ Sasanian and even Achaemenian. F. Sarre, *Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1923), Taf. 18, etc.

¹⁷ E.g. Giusalian and Diakonov, *op. cit.*, Taf. 1-3; Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, Pls. 31, 41 B.

¹⁸ 1237 Ḥarīrī, Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 25, right; Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. LVII. A crude disregard of space and an inability to organize the borrowed Chinese elements neutralizes the diminution of human figures in these paintings. One or two Mongol works, depending on the drawing of trees (massive trunks uprearing beyond the upper edge of the picture, from which edge droop sprays of foliage more or less in scale), are sufficiently obsequious copies to reflect something of Chinese organization. Buddha's Tree (Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 31; Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 27) is best. Compare the Mongol mare (Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 25) with the Chao Meng Fu scroll (B. Harada, *Pageant*

of Chinese Painting [Tokyo, 1936], Pl. 260) for indication of the type of model.

²⁰ If the pale ground tones of many robes in the 1237 Ḥarīrī be thought of as eliminated.

²¹ It is, of course, extremely common in ink work, and the method is applied in color, e.g., drapery of Yen Hui' sorcerer represented by O. Fischer, *Die Kunst Indiens, China, und Japans* (Berlin, 1928), Pl. 487.

²² The woodcut art of the Yuan period remains unknown. It existed, and a series of illustrations done in archaistic style in the Ming period for a very widely dispersed edition of Wang's "Li tai ming yuan tu Shuo," by Chiu Ying, may be compared with fourteenth-century Iranian work.

²³ E. Diez, "Sino-Mongolian Temple Painting," *Ars Islamica*, I (1934), 160-71.

But the precise nature of the elder Chinese influences on Iranian painting²⁴ is not germane to the present discussion, for which it is enough to observe that no manuscript known to have been painted before the middle of the fourteenth century shows any attempt to express a large natural world of which men and animals are the mere fauna. If, for the moment, consideration of the 1343-44 Bidpai is omitted, it is with the more astonishment that one finds in a *Shah Namah* done at Shiraz in 1370-71²⁵ the complete stylization of a large nature system. The pictures are so crude and the stylization so monotonous that we must recognize in the artist not only an Iranian reactionary, but a hack, a man of negligible talent and inveterate habit, stolidly reproducing, as best he could, the harmonious pictorial system which some predecessor had invented.

Among the elements which are new here may be listed: (a) a large nature world, with high, delicately drawn horizon against a colored sky, with a softly varied ground falling to the bottom of the picture, against which ground, and yet as a part of it, the figures live; (b) the precipitous emergence of rocks and trees in the folio margin beyond the "original" edge of the picture, in a manner quite different from the rambling of diagrammatic vegetation in late Mesopotamian style (the 1370-71 "Rustam and Suhrāb" shows real ledges thrust out into space); (c) an all-over color system through which the original page never appears, composed entirely of colored natural objects (thus distinct from the red and yellow background all-over system);²⁶ (d) a most delicate line merely refining the bounds of colored areas.²⁷

These same novelties continue as constant or recurring elements in Persian book painting through the whole of its bloom. No absurdity in the execution of this manuscript can diminish its importance; it is painting which a Safawid painter would have recognized as work in his own tradition. And it is particularly pertinent to the problem that all these "novelties" of the 1370-71 Shiraz *Shah Namah* are also in the *Khawādījū Kirmānī* manuscript illustrated in Baghdad by *Djunaid* twenty-five years later.²⁸ It has been observed above that the artist of the 1370-71 *Shah Namah* was not a creative genius. He was, however, thoroughly Iranian in decorative sense; in draughtsmanship his men, horses, and trees are astonishingly close to those on *Mīnā'ī* pottery of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁹

One is forced to the conclusion that the artist was an Iranian, copying some model also characterized by the nature and color system which seems so revolutionary in the manuscript. But why should a Shiraz hack of 1370 use such a model, when his immediate predecessors, the Shiraz hacks of the "Indjū school" (group 4 above), had been illustrating *Shah Namahs* in the most archaistic way imaginable? It seems best to assume that among the booty taken by

²⁴ I hope to publish in collaboration with Mr. Lawrence Sickman a more detailed inquiry into this subject.

²⁵ Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, Figs. 4-7.

²⁶ Characteristic of Indjū mss. Cf. Frontispiece of Vienna Galen. Probably old Iranian: for Ibn Ḥawḳal on Sasanian frescoes, cf. Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne*, p. 37.

²⁷ Probably older in Iran (Galen frontispiece), but superseded in the Rāshīdiya school.

²⁸ Martin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 45-50; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Figs. 38-39; Blochet *Musulman Painting*, Pl. LXXII; Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 35; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 856 A.

²⁹ E.g., Kelekian bowl, *SPA.*, Pls. 674-75.

Muhammad ibn Muzaffar when he withdrew to Shiraz after capturing Tabriz and occupying it for two months in 760 H. (1359 A.D.)³⁰ were some illustrated manuscripts painted in a new way. Such manuscripts might have been illustrated by late *Īl-Khān* artists or by artists of a new *Djalā'irid* school, since Sultan Uwais *Djalā'ir* had fixed his residence in the *Rab'-i Rashīdī* of Tabriz only the previous year.³¹ Here is an explanation of the resemblances between the Shiraz *Shah Namah* and Baghdad *Khawādījū Kirmānī* manuscript, since the artist of the latter is the only member of the *Djalā'irid* school whose work is known to survive.

That *Djunaid's* style is a direct descendant of the Shiraz 1370 style (which may be called the Muzaffarid style) cannot be admitted, since in spite of *Djunaid's* evident tendency to monotony and repetition (color of the mountains in the duel scene,³² a complete stylization of draughtsmanship, and lapse into symmetry and other archaisms in "Nūshīrwān and Buzurdmīhr")³³ he preserves a far greater number of nature's varieties of tree and flower than does his Muzaffarid predecessor.

We are therefore forced to assume a common ancestor for these two manuscripts, and to assume that the tall horizon, ledges jutting into the margin, and the rest were contributed to the Iranian repertoire by innovators earlier than either.

Whether the artists of the 1343-44 Bidpai were close to, or were, the source of innovation is a question which now arises. Certainly in such a miniature as the outdoor throne scene³⁴ most of the essential innovations appear strongly: the ground between the figures is filled with plants, a tree in almost natural scale fills one margin. Other miniatures³⁵ in the same manuscript suggest that same quality of the Iranian reactionary which is exactly the opposite character to what we should expect in our innovator; the figures are arranged repetitively in a row, against a "natural" scene, which is simply a backdrop decorated with *semé* tufts and three disproportionate flowers. Moreover, the projecting ledges of the later manuscripts appear in none of the published miniatures from this Bidpai. We may have here an artist extremely close to the origin of certain formulations, such as the *semé* ground,³⁶ which seems the natural issue of a tendency already present in work of about 1306,³⁷ and almost complete in work of about 1314.³⁸ But the artist cannot be the inventor of the nature system which appears, in spite of

³⁰ H. Howorth, *The Mongols in Persia. History of the Mongols* (London, 1888), III, 655.

³¹ It was at that time deserted. The quarter had first been plundered on the fall of *Rashīd al-Dīn* in 1318, and again in 1336, this time more thoroughly, for it seems to have been deserted in 1350, when *Ashraf* "squatted" in it.

³² Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 50; Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 35.

³³ Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 48.

³⁴ Kühnel, "Bidpai Ms.," Fig. 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Figs. 1-2; Stchoukine, "Les Mss. du Caire," Figs. 5, 7.

³⁶ I exclude from consideration the 1279-80 Bidpai

(Paris, Bibl. Nat. pers. 2028), dated from Baghdad. The date is the completion of the *kātib's* work; and I believe that the fall of *Alā al-Dīn* next year precluded completion of the illustrations, since he was obliged to collect all his valuables and those of his Baghdad *nā'ibs* and send them to Tabriz. The illustrations were filled in, I believe, long afterwards. For an opposite interpretation see Holter, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21; Blochet, *Enluminures*, Pl. XXII; *idem*, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. XL; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Figs. 14-15.

³⁷ Edinburgh ms. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. LIII.

³⁸ Royal Asiatic Society ms. Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 28, lower.

all archaizing and stylizing, so much more varied in the *Khwādjū Kirmānī* manuscript of 1396. He is merely nearer to the source, sometimes reflecting it in all its force, and at other times incapable of turning it to his own uses.

Direct illumination is therefore not to be had from dated material and must be sought elsewhere, first, naturally, from the richest undated monuments, since the possibility of dating them approximately will be proportionate to the variety of details.

Astonishingly, no systematic attempt to date either the Demotte *Shah Namah* or the Istanbul Bidpai by comparing the costumes of personages with costumes in dated manuscripts has yet been made. Such a comparison of the Demotte *Shah Namah* will prompt a dating very different from that now usual.

DATING OF THE DEMOTTE *SHAH NAMAH* BY COMPARISONS OF COSTUME

Certain general characteristics, such as long robes, plate armor, boots, and so forth, which were common throughout the fourteenth century, will not be discussed.

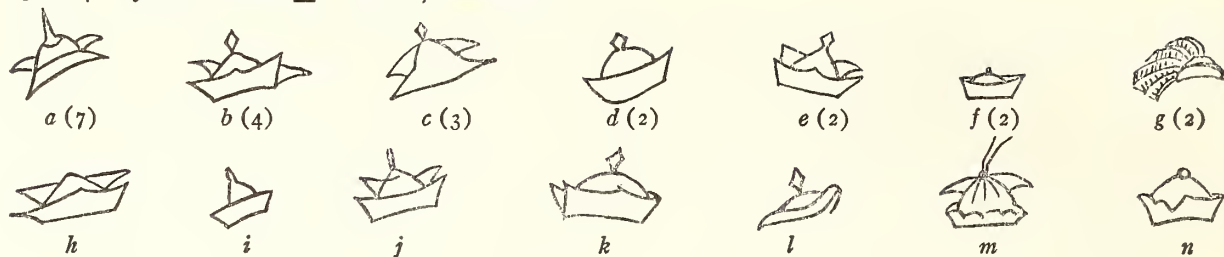
The ordinary coat of the period, and of preceding and subsequent times also, is a double-breasted garment, fastening under the right, or sometimes the left, arm. Over this coat was sometimes worn a long loose overcoat with long dangling sleeves, often lined with fur (the modern *pūstīn*). A slash at the elbow permitted the arms to be thrust through the sleeves, instead of being buried in their whole length. Elderly sages and monarchs are the most usual wearers of the overcoat in miniatures.

The ordinary underarm fastening permits no lapel; a row of seams is generally the only ornament unless the breast and shoulders are marked with patches of embroidery on the Mongol model. Overcoats, coats fastening down the front of the breast, and even shirts have lapels; and these accessories undergo various changes of mode in the fourteenth century. A consideration of the range and frequency of occurrence of various forms in dated manuscripts may therefore have some diagnostic value. The details of dress in which authentic changes of fashion seem to have taken place in the fourteenth century are hats, lapels, and embroideries. Persian draughtsmanship being almost entirely scholastic, the apparent voluminousness of robes and the apparent weight and texture of materials depend rather on the artist's training, on the model copied, or on the formula repeated, than on reality. Thus, for example, the voluminousness of the *Rashīdīya* manuscript robes must be considered an inheritance from Chinese (or perhaps in a few instances from Christian) drawing formulae, whereas the apparent wall-paper fit of early Timurid robes is a result of reaction to older Persian methods of rendering the figure.

Sleeves in the Edinburgh and Royal Asiatic Society *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* manuscript are generally³⁹ longer and more wrinkled than those of later manuscripts for both elbow-length and wrist-length sleeves. Both in the Demotte *Shah Namah* and the Istanbul Bidpai sleeves

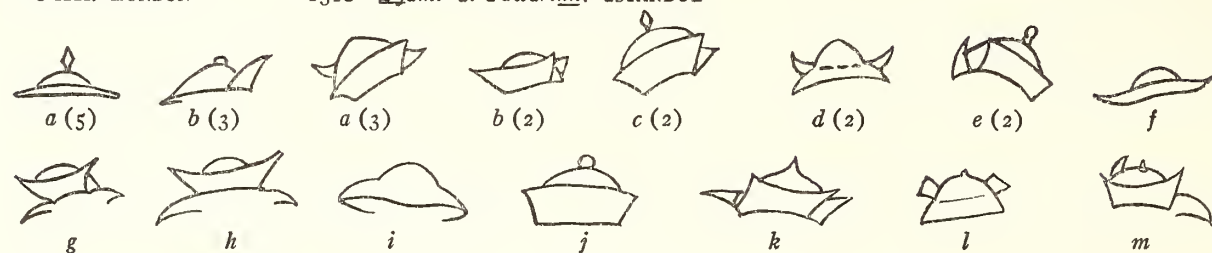
³⁹ E.g., Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. LII.

1306-14 *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*. LONDON, EDINBURGH

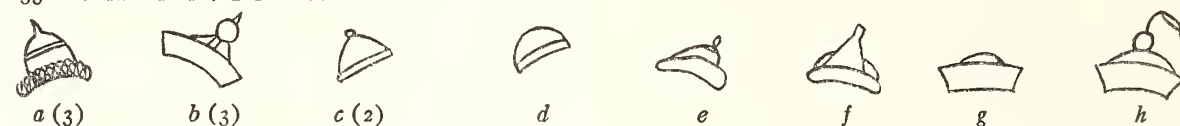


1313-15
MU'IZZĪ. LONDON

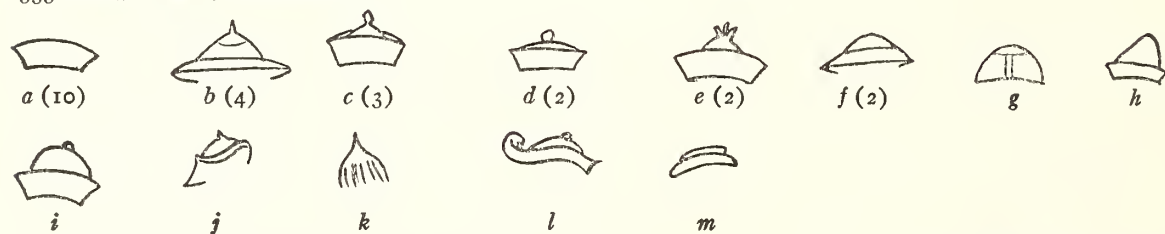
1318 *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*. ISTANBUL



1330 *Shah Namah*. ISTANBUL



1333 *Shah Namah*. LENINGRAD

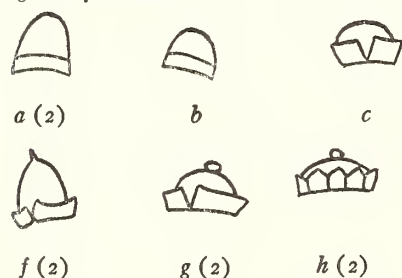


1341 (A) *Shah Namah* of Ḳawwām al-Dīn



1341 (B) 1343-44
Mu'nis al-Aḥrār. BIDPAI, CAIRO

1388 Ḳazwīnī Ms.



1396 *Khwādījū Kirmānī* Ms.

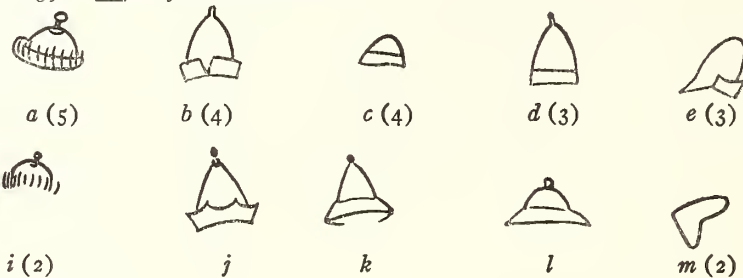
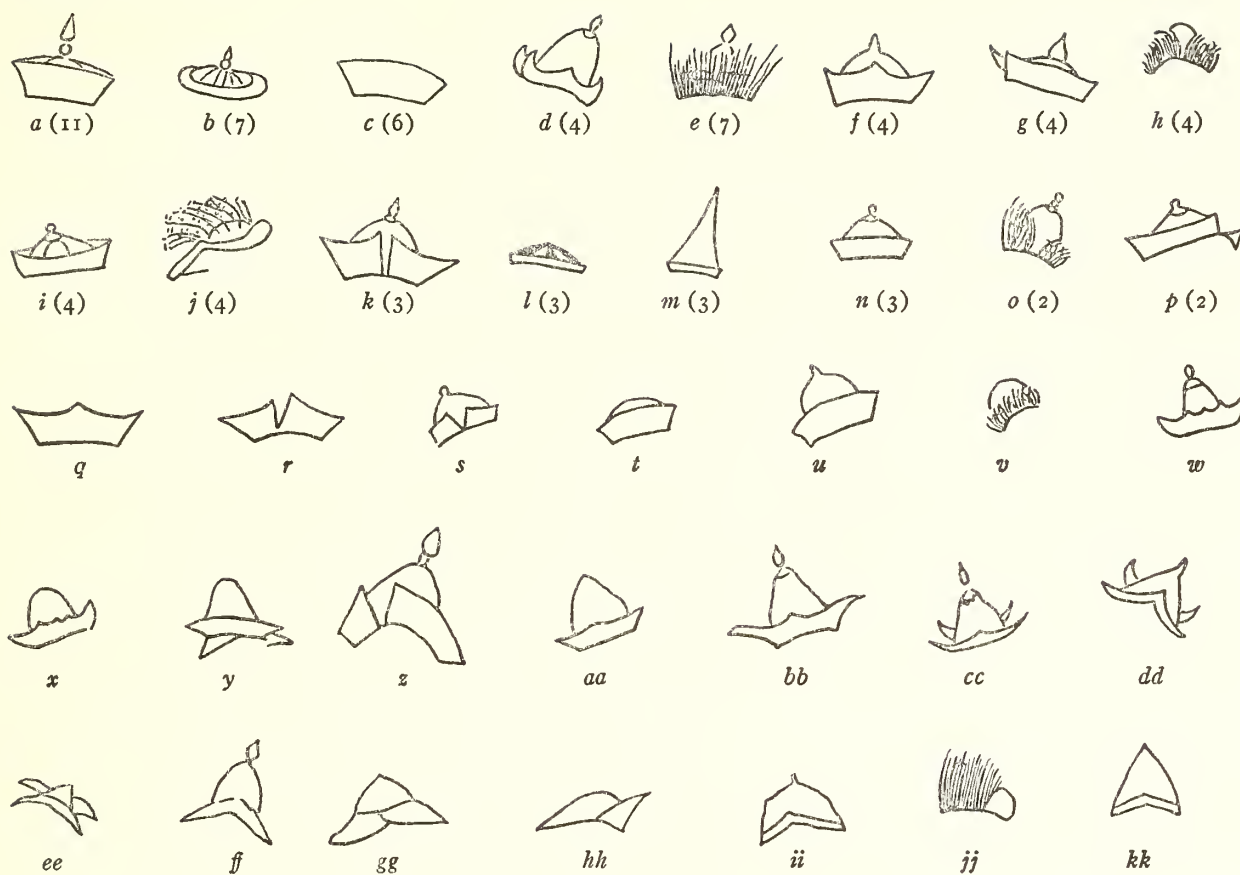
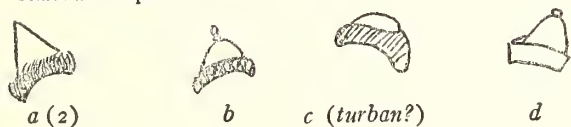


FIG. 1.—THE NUMBERS IN PARENTHESES INDICATE THE FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS HATS IN THE MINIATURES. NO NUMBER IS GIVEN WHEN A TYPE IS ILLUSTRATED ONLY ONCE

Demotte *Shah Namah*



Istanbul Bidpai



Shah Namah of Sultan Ali Mirza

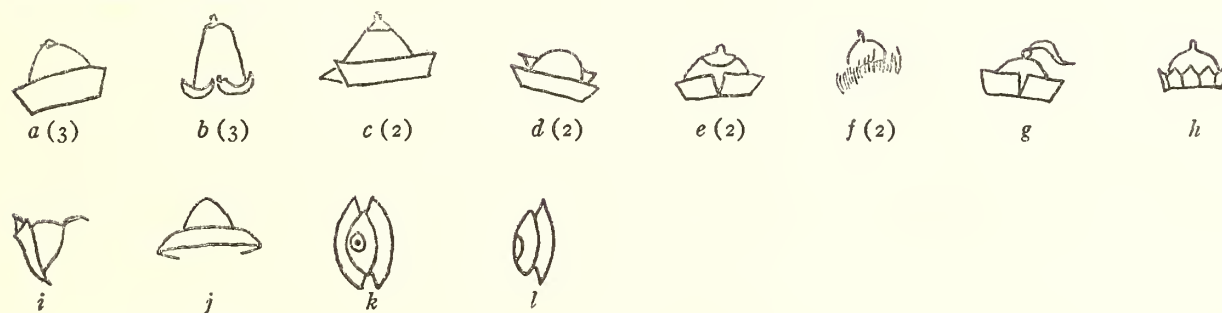


FIG. 2—THE NUMBERS IN PARENTHESES INDICATE THE FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS HATS IN THE MINIATURES. NO NUMBER IS GIVEN WHEN A TYPE IS ILLUSTRATED ONLY ONCE

are, on the whole, of shorter cut. There are exceptions to this tendency in those miniatures of the Demotte manuscript which appear to have been executed by an old artist trained in the Rashīdiya technique, and also in the Istanbul Bidpai, but in most of the paintings the tendency is appreciable.

Hats are extremely varied, and a graphic presentation of the various changes in mode is probably the only intelligible scale on which any attempt to situate the two manuscripts is possible. It will be seen (*Fig. 1*) that the variety of hats worn under the Īl-Khāns was enormous. The dated manuscripts fall into three groups—the Īl-Khān (1306–18), the Indjū (1330–41), and the late fourteenth century (1388–96). The 1343–44 Bidpai is very different from the Indjū manuscripts; it has one interesting variant.

In the first period low-crowned hats with rather wide whole (1313–15 *a*) or, more commonly, split (1306–14 *a–c, e, h*, etc.) brims are the prevailing type.

In the mid-century manuscripts, however, a hat with round tight upturned brim sometimes concealing the crown (1330 *g*, 1333 *a, c–e*, 1341 *A a–c*, 1341 *Ba*), which seems to have appeared, though more rarely, in the Rashīdiya manuscript (1306–14 *d, f*, 1318 *j*), ousts the former. A hat with a rather higher crown, a small mīl, and a fur rim also is common in the 1330 manuscript (1330 *a*).

A rather curious development now takes place. A very tall domical crown, first appearing in the 1341 *Shah Namah* (*v. infra.*) or the 1343–44 Bidpai, becomes common in the 1396 Khwādjū Kirmānī (1396 *b, e, f, j*), and the fur-rimmed hats become very low crowned (1396 *a, i*).

The hats of the Demotte *Shah Namah* (*Fig. 2*) are most commonly the low-crowned hat with round tight upturned brim which is commonest right through the middle group of manuscripts (Demotte *Shah Namah, a, c, f, i, n, q, t*). Since we have no notion how far into the chronological gaps on either side of this middle group the fashion may have extended (the gap between 1343–44 and 1388 or 1396 being a particularly long one) it is necessary to consider the resemblances of the less numerous types. The wide split brim appears several times (Demotte *Shah Namah, g, k, p, r, s, y, z*) in a manner reminiscent of the Rashīdiya fashion. The other types present far closer analogies to the latter part of the century. The low-crowned fur hats (Demotte *Shah Namah, e, h, v, jj*) may be compared with the common 1396 *a* and *i*, and the presence of numerous high-crowned hats (Demotte *Shah Namah, d*, common, and *z, bb, cc, dd, ff*) brings the whole group nearer to the 1396 Khwādjū Kirmānī manuscript. The earliest known occurrence of these hats appears to be either 1343–44^{39a} or more uncertainly, 1341 (*Fig. 1: 1341 [A] f*).⁴⁰

An Indjū manuscript of that date contains an example of something very close to the Demotte *Shah Namah* (*aa*), but the Indjū example presents a very singular appearance. The complete lack of proportion between the heads and the figures of this miniature, the fact that the

^{39a} Stchoukine, "Les Mss. du Caire," *Fig. 7*.

⁴⁰ Cf. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. X.

heads are not executed in the same style as are those of the other miniatures of this manuscript⁴¹ but in a style very close to that of certain miniatures in the Demotte *Shah Namah* would suggest that this miniature is not altogether of the same date as that of others in this manuscript and that the heads may be a repair.

The wide-brimmed hat with partridge plume, which twice occurs early in the Demotte *Shah Namah* ("Salm and Tūr Killing Īradj, Afrasiyāb Killing Nawdar"), is like 1306-14 g,⁴² but the style seems to have continued, and a tile in the British Museum which shows such a hat is dated 1339.⁴³ It is very common in the undated but apparently late fourteenth-century copy of the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.⁴⁴ Here, however, the hat may be taken directly from some older manuscript from which this copy was presumably made. The very tall conical kulāh ("Hanging of Mānī") is old, but seems to be a development in exaggeration from the kulāh of the 1307-8 Bīrūnī,⁴⁵ and of the 1343-44 Bidpai,⁴⁶ and because of its extreme position in a progressively more exaggerated series it appears to be later than the 1343-44 example. Although the ninety-two hats observed do not form a complete series they certainly are a large and representative majority: nine of the hats have the old wide-flaring split brim with low crown and mīl characteristic of early fourteenth-century manuscripts but apparently surviving to about 1400 in the *Shah Namah* of Sultan Ali Mirza (see p. 121), twenty-six have the closer upturned brim normal in the mid-century manuscripts, twelve have the very high crown first observed soon after 1340 and common at the end of the century, and fifteen are low-crowned fur brimmed hats very common at the end of the century and not found in published mid-century manuscripts. The tendency of this part of the evidence is therefore to indicate that the manuscript was probably illustrated some time between the Indjū period manuscripts and the late manuscripts, i.e., somewhere between the thirteen-forties and the thirteen-eighties. That the wide flaring split brim survived especially long in the work of this school is indicated by its presence in the *Shah Namah* of Sultan Ali Mirza (for the dating and attribution of this see pp. 136-38).

Coat lapels have been represented together (*Fig. 3*), and it is hoped that no argument will be necessary to justify the placing of the manuscripts in the order given; the lapels in the Demotte *Shah Namah* fall evidently between the mid- and late- fourteenth century style. It should be noticed that the common lapel of the Demotte *Shah Namah*, *a* and 1396 *a* is not a new fashion, but the resumption of an older style.^{46a} The process of a reaction, however, is not necessarily of less diagnostic value than is that of an innovation.

⁴¹ Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 834 A-B, *Kelekian Exhibition Catalogue*, Nos. 5, 7. *Homborg Sale Catalogue*, Galleries Petit (Paris, 1931), No. 94.

⁴² E.g., Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII, lower; Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. LII.

⁴³ A. U. Pope, "The Ceramic Art in Islamic Times. A The History," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York, 1939), V, Pl. 722 F.

⁴⁴ Blochet, *Les Peintures orientales*, Pl. XII, XV, etc.,

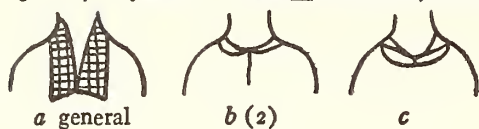
idem, *Les Peintures arabes*, Pls. 5-6, etc.; *idem*, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. LXIII.

⁴⁵ Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 36 A; for an older comparable kulāh in the Ḥarīrī (B.N. arabe 3929) see Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. VI.

⁴⁶ Kühnel, "Bidpai Ms.," *Fig. 2*.

^{46a} Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 31, figures of the prince and the spear bearer.

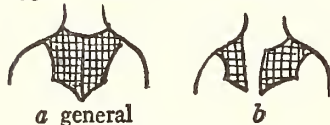
1306-14 *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*. LONDON, EDINBURGH



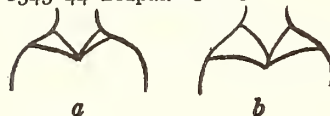
Istanbul Bidpai



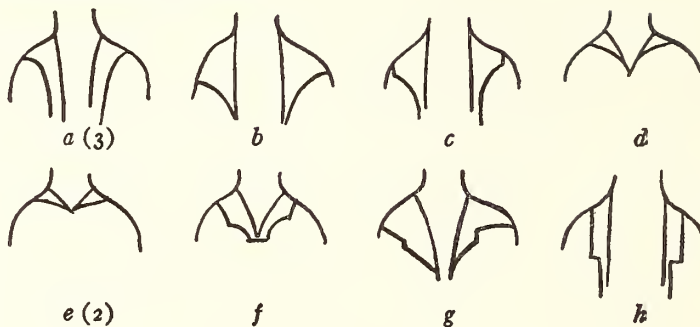
1330 *Shah Namah*. ISTANBUL



1343-44 Bidpai. CAIRO



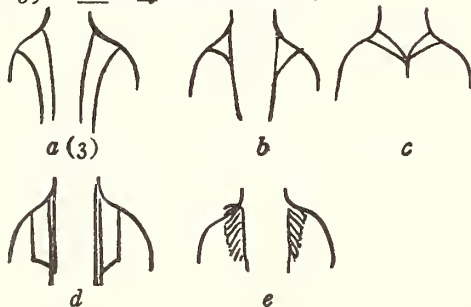
Demotte *Shah Namah*



1393 *Shah Namah*. CAIRO



1396 *Khawājū Kirmānī Ms.*



1397 *Epic Collection*, Beatty Collection and British Museum



FIG. 3.—THE NUMBERS IN PARENTHESES INDICATE THE FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS LAPELS IN THE MINIATURES. NO NUMBER IS GIVEN WHEN A TYPE IS ILLUSTRATED ONLY ONCE

Plate armor in tonlets is the common armor of the fourteenth century. In the 1306 and 1314 *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* the plates of the hauberk overlap downward, wherever the overlap is drawn.⁴⁷ In the Demotte *Shah Namah*, in the 1370-71 *Shah Namah*, and in the 1393 *Shah Namah*, the plates overlap upward. The round breastplate of "Iskandar Slays Fūr" is rare. It also appears in the 1396 *Khwādjū Kirmānī* manuscript.⁴⁸

Helmets have various forms in the Demotte *Shah Namah*. The commonest form is an oval basinet surmounted by a finial or mīl, with a camail beneath, an equipment of which an isolated example occurs in the 1330 *Shah Namah*^{48a} as against fifteen examples of a different type in the 1330 and 1333 *Shah Namahs*. Its first dated appearance as normal is in the 1370-71 *Shah Namah*,⁴⁹ and it remains so in the 1393 *Shah Namah*⁵⁰ and in the 1396 *Khwādjū Kirmānī* manuscript. The camail looped across the face was probably an old Iranian device (equestrian figure at the back of Ṭāk-i Bustān). It is represented in the 1333 *Shah Namah*⁵¹ in a simplified form without the hook to the nasal which characterizes the Demotte *Shah Namah* representations ("Rashnawād and the Rūmi," "Ardawān Fights Ardashīr").

The basinet with four flaring tonlets protecting the neck and ears, rare in the Demotte *Shah Namah* ("Iskandar Slays Fūr"), is found in the 1341 *Shah Namah*.⁵²

The basinet with two rounded overlapping ear cups ("Farīdūn's Sons Fight the Dragon") appears first in the 1330 manuscript,⁵³ but is common in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.⁵⁴

It is hard to find any parallel to the upward flaring four-peaked basinet rim of the Demotte *Shah Namah*. The ill-drawn 1333 *Shah Namah*⁵⁵ contains a very dubious example. The rim appears to be an intermediate form between the peaked visor of early and the rim of late fourteenth-century helmets. The basinet with plain rim of late type is also common in the Demotte *Shah Namah*.

The drift of these considerations is unmistakable. The Demotte *Shah Namah* costumes are not exactly those of the early manuscripts nor those of the later, but they have more in common with the costumes of the late fourteenth century; and if on this basis a period of years was to be selected, to strike an equilibrium between the correspondences, it would be the third quarter of the fourteenth century, or the gap between the times of the Indjū and the Muzaffarid and the late *Djalā'irid* miniatures.

DATING OF THE ISTANBUL BIDPAI BY COMPARISONS OF COSTUME

An application of the same method to the remounted Bidpai illustrations is far less difficult. Representations of costume are fewer and less varied. There seems to have been only one

⁴⁷ E.g., Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pls. LVII-LVIII; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII, upper.

⁴⁸ Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 50.

^{48a} Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII A.

⁴⁹ Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, Figs. 6-7.

⁵⁰ Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXIX A, XXX B.

⁵¹ Giusalian and Diakonov, *op. cit.*, Pl. 3.

⁵² Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 834 B.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Pl. 857.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Pls. 857, 858 B.

⁵⁵ Giusalian and Diakonov, *op. cit.*, Pl. 3.

artist controlling the illustrations, and the number of assistants appears smaller. Robes, like those of the early fourteenth-century *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* manuscripts, are extremely long and loose. There is one decisive detail. The lapels or collars (often of checked material) with square ends low down on the chest⁵⁶ are normal in the Bidpai manuscript and normal in the early *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* manuscripts.⁵⁷ They occur in no dated manuscript from 1330 onward; and their place is taken by lapels of quite different form (Fig. 3).

The tall kulāh with mīl and fur edge⁵⁸ (Fig. 3, Istanbul Bidpai, *a*, *b*) is close to that of the 1330 *Shah Namah*⁵⁹ (Fig. 1, 1330 *a*). The conical kulāh of the Bidpai has a degree of exaggeration apparently intermediate between that of the 1307–8 Bīrūnī⁶⁰ and that of the 1343–44 Bidpai.⁶¹ One detail, and one only, is an apparent exception: the gold embroidery of a royal figure,⁶² with leaf-shaped points falling upon the shoulders and breast.

No dated example of this form is found earlier than the 1370–71 *Shah Namah*.⁶³ Against this must be set the fact that breast and shoulder embroideries are never represented in the published miniatures of Indjū manuscripts, so that although the falling point shape was common in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, along with the isolated breast embroidery which it never replaced before Safawid times, there is no knowing when it began, beyond the strong probability that it began sometime after 1318. Certainly it has not been found in Rashīdiya manuscripts. There is a possibility that the embroidery is retouched (faulty drawing on shoulder, overriding of joint of shoulder and breast, bright tone).^{63a} On the whole, therefore, although the Bidpai may be somewhat later than the Rashīdiya manuscripts, it seems impossible to put it much later than about 1330.

Its importance at that date is immense. It is not a halfway stage between the Demotte

⁵⁶ Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pl. IX; Gray, "Die Kalila wa-Dimna," Abb. 1, 3.

⁵⁷ E.g., Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pls. XLVIII–L, LII, LV; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX; Kühnel, *SPA*, Pl. 827. In the middle and later fourteenth century the plain rectangular lapels are shorter and narrower; long lapels are triangular or cusped.

⁵⁸ Gray, "Kalila wa-Dimna," Abb. 1, 3.

⁵⁹ Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pls. XVI–XVII.

⁶⁰ Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 36 A.

⁶¹ Kühnel, "Bidpai Ms.," Fig. 2.

⁶² Gray, "Kalila wa-Dimna," Abb. 1.

⁶³ Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, Fig. 3.

^{63a} I hazard the following explanation of apparent inconsistencies in the execution of the Istanbul Bidpai. It was in the library of Shah Tahmasp, and evidently in such ill repair that it was remounted for him (Kühnel, *SPA*, pp. 1836–37). Since many of the faces of the

remounted miniatures are very similar to those of a close copy, now in the Nawab of Rampur's library, executed in Tahmaspi technique, especially evident in the foliage (O. C. Gangoly, "An Illustrated Manuscript of Anwār-i-Suhaylī," *Rupam*, 42 [1931], Figs. A–F), it seems most probable that at the time of the remounting of the old paintings Tahmasp had a close copy made for use, and the copyist was instructed to restore the most damaged parts of the old works. This particular miniature was badly abraded, especially on the right. The original face drawing of the Istanbul Bidpai is that of the husband and the thief in Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI, and certain faces in Gray, "Kalila wa-Dimna," Abb. 1. It is a style apparently intermediate between that of the Istanbul *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, Figs. 1–3) and that of the Demotte *Shah Namah*, but closer to the latter. Indubitable evidence of repairing exists in the drawings of hands in Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Fig. 3.

Shah Namah and Timurid art, but stands itself at the original source of what seems new in both. No detailed analysis is necessary to establish the lineal connection between the Bidpai and the *Shah Namah*: it has been already felt.⁶⁴ A glance of comparison will show how much such scenes as the "Garshāsp Enthroned," or "Isfandiyar Reproaches Gushtāsp," owe to the throne scenes of the Bidpai.⁶⁵ In the treatment of interiors the lineal succession of the Bidpai, the *Shah Namah*, and the 1396 *Khwādjū Kirmānī* manuscript is no less evident; but here a somewhat surprising quality in the *Shah Namah* appears. Both the earlier and the later manuscript are executed on a finer scale, and certain architectural ornaments only effective in a finer scale, such as the silver grills with delicate round lights,⁶⁶ are eschewed by the artists of the *Shah Namah*. They work with something of the boldness of the earlier Islamic styles and are faithful to the general Iranian decorative principle of combining large-scale and fine-scale ornament, a principle which the Bidpai artist forsook, and which was largely abandoned by artists of the Herat school.

Nature, in the Bidpai paintings, is a living world of earth and water, trees and flowers, of which men and beasts are the tenants, not the masters. Here, undiluted, is the influence which turned the artists of the 1343-44 Bidpai and the 1370-71 *Shah Namah* away from the methods of their ancestors. And here are all the details which were to characterize the common ancestor of both manuscripts: the colored sky, the high, finely shaded horizon, the all-over system of colored natural objects through which the paper cannot show, the rocks and ledges with trees and grasses jutting into and overhanging the margin,⁶⁷ the respect for natural scale, the soft alternations of quiet ground colors.⁶⁸ Here also, in ironical company with what became a part of the Iranian repertoire, are indigestible portions, experiments which Iranian painters rejected: three-dimensional drawing (placing of the fishermen's legs, the extraordinary monkey).⁶⁹

The origin of these remarkable innovations is hardly questionable. They were derived from Chinese painting.⁷⁰ Far Eastern art generally enjoyed in Iran an equal extreme of adula-

⁶⁴ By Gray ("Iranian Painting") and Kühnel (*SPA.*). Stchoukine (*La Peinture iranienne*, pp. 101-2) does not appear to recognize the relation between the Istanbul and Rampur paintings, and his division of the former into two hands is questionable, if the hypothesis ventured above is correct. The range, depth, and subtlety of Stchoukine's observations are pre-eminent (*ibid.*, pp. 144-58), but his classifications seem both too rigid and too minute.

⁶⁵ Gray, "Kalila wa-Dimna," Abb. 1, 3.

⁶⁶ Compare with the Bidpai examples those of the 1396 *Khwādjū Kirmānī* ms.

⁶⁷ I fancy that in this painting the Islamic margin is a successor to the misty void before the crags of Sung

and Yuan landscape. It is amusing to see the Unknowable pushed out to its proper place and reduced to its proper size.

⁶⁸ See Sakisian's admirably full account of the palette (*op. cit.*, pp. 4 ff.) and Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne*, p. 101.

⁶⁹ The legs in Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Pl. V, the monkey in Pl. VIII.

⁷⁰ See Figures 4-11. Compare especially Figure 4 with Figure 5, the rocks of Figure 6 with those of Figure 11, the twisted tree and the striated technique of Figure 7 with similar features in Figure 10, and the projecting ledges of Figure 7 with those of Fig. 11. The treatment of the ground in Figure 8 is very close to that of Fig. 4

tion and incomprehension. Indeed, although "the idol gallery of China" was a proverbial superlative, perhaps only one other Iranian artist besides the master of the Istanbul Bidpai ever paid Chinese painting the compliment of close analytical attention. To acknowledge that a tree or flower or rock was better drawn in Chinese style than in the Mesopotamian style was the inevitable conclusion of an ordinary mind. But to comprehend an alien art as profoundly as the Bidpai master comprehended Chinese painting is only possible with an intelligence amounting to genius.

Having indicated the probable dates of 1320–40 for the Bidpai and 1350–75 for the Demotte *Shah Namah*, and recognizing both the unique importance of the former as the fountain-head of the later Iranian style and the lineal connection between both these and the 1396 *Khawādījū* Kirmānī manuscript, a connection excluding the Shiraz school and whatever school produced the Bibliothèque Nationale *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* manuscript, I now turn to the one first-rate historical authority for the period—Dūst Muhammad.⁷¹

All that is known of the period covered by his account confirms the impression of his reliability.⁷² There is so far no reason to question any of his statements, or doubt the excellence of his judgment. Of the fourteenth century he wrote:

and to the "Combat between Ardāshīr and Ardawān" in the Demotte *Shah Namah*. Fig. 9 should be compared with the "Bahrām Killing a Wolf" of the *Shah Namah*.

This borrowing from Chinese artists is of an entirely different caliber from that of the Rashīdiya artists.

⁷¹ Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–85.

⁷² He is correct about Cathay and the Franks. Stchoukine's estimate that Islamic polychromy was suspended until shortly before 1340–50 (*La Peinture iranienne*, p. 158) agrees exactly with Dūst Muhammad's date for the inception of modern painting. Ahmed Djālā'ir's taste for black-and-white work is confirmed by the margin of a *Divan* (F. R. Martin, *Miniatures from the Period of Timur* [Vienna, 1926]). 'Abd al-Ḥaiy's service under Timur is confirmed by Ahmed ibn 'Arabshāh (*Tamerlane*, translated by J. H. Sanders [London, 1936], p. 314). Djunaid's known work is dated from Baghdad (in Br. Mus. Add. 18113). Dja'far Bāisonghorī wrote the great *Shah Namah* now at Teheran. The Baghdad munabbat-kārī binding of 1407 (Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 98) is evidence of the Djālā'irid origin of the technique, and thus agrees with Dūst Muhammad's attribution of its invention to Kawwām al-Dīn of Tabriz. Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray (*op. cit.*, 184, n. 2) criticize Dūst Muhammad somewhat unreasonably. Their accusation of confusion of Olčaitu Abū Sa'īd rests upon imperfect acquaintance with ʿIl-Khānīd titles. Khudā-banda was a regular laḡab of the Muhammadan ʿIl-Khāns

(O. Codrington, *Musulman Numismatics* [London, 1904], p. 60). They draw from Dūst Muhammad, in order to attack him, an implication (that until Abū Sa'īd's time miniature painting was not a fine art in Persia) for which I see no warrant in the text. Dūst Muhammad did not say this; he said: "Painting in the modern style then began." They then attack his account of Djālā'irid painting by quoting evidence of the later Djālā'irids' difficulty in holding Tabriz, which seems to me irrelevant, since their manuscripts were presumably produced, even if by Tabrizis, at Baghdad until the middle of Uwais' reign. Clavijo's account (*Embassy to Tamerlane* [London, 1928], pp. 151–55) of the wealth and size of Tabriz at the very moment when Dūst Muhammad's Tabrizi artists were being trained or beginning their masterpieces is sufficient to refute the criticism that Tabriz cannot have housed a school.

The object of these writers (*op. cit.*, p. 188, lines 17 and 25) is quite evident. They believe that Shiraz was the center of painting, and Dūst Muhammad ignores Shiraz. No one will deny the charm of early Shiraz work. But Muzaffarid mss. cannot be compared in importance with the Baghdad *Khawādījū* Kirmānī of 1396; and the only first-rate ones produced in Shiraz are those done under the eye of a Timurid prince who may have brought his own artists from Samarkand or Khurasan.

Another criticism is equally weak. A painter, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, was attached by Bāisonghor to the embassy to

The Art of Painting flourished both in Cathay and in the territory of the Franks till the Sultanate of Abu Sa'īd Khudā-Banda (1317-34). It was then that Ustād Ahmad Mūsā, who learned the art of painting from his father, unveiled the face of painting, and invented the kind of painting which is current at the present time. An *Abu Sa'īd-nāma*, a *Kalīla wa Dimna*, and a *Mī'rāj-nāma* copied by Mawlāna 'Abd Allāh, were illustrated by this painter; also a History of Chingīz [Chingīz-nāma of Ahmed Tabrizī?] which was afterwards in the library of Sultan Husayn Mīrzā. . . . [Dūst Muhammad then mentions his pupil, the black-and-white artist Amīr Dawlat Yār].

There was, among Ahmad Mūsā's pupils, Ustād Shams al-Dīn, who learned his art in the reign of Sultān Uways [1356-74]. He illustrated a *Shāh-nāma* copied by Khwāja Amīr 'Alī. When Sultān Uways died Shams al-Dīn worked for no other master.

Shams al-Dīn's pupil Khwāja 'Abd al-Hayy was in distressed circumstances, but Shams al-Dīn rescued him from manual toil and gave him instruction. Accordingly, in the reign of Sultān Ahmad of Baghdād, a great patron of the arts [1382-1410] he excelled all others. He instructed the Sultān in painting, and the Sultān contributed a black and white illustration to an *Abu Sa'īd-nāma*.

When the conquering army of Tīmūr overthrew Baghdād [1393], he took 'Abd al-Hayy back with him to his capital of Samarqand. There the Khwāja died. After his death all the masters emulated his work.

A pupil of Shams al-Dīn was Ustād Junayd of Baghdād . . .

EQUATION OF DŪST MUHAMMAD'S ACCOUNT AND THE MONUMENTS

First should be urged the strong probability that some of the fourteenth-century manuscripts mentioned in Dūst Muhammad's account are still in existence. Both the sixteenth-century manuscripts of which he speaks are known.⁷³ The fifteenth-century "great book" of Bāisonghor is to be identified with the Teheran *Shah Namah* of 1429-30⁷⁴ (paren-

China in 1419-20; Dūst Muhammad said that 'Ala al-Dawla Mirza sent for Ghiyāth al-Dīn from Tabriz some time after 1433. This seems to me no insuperable difficulty. Could not a man go back to live in Tabriz, even if it were certain that the same man is meant, which appears unlikely, since "Ghiyāth al-Dīn" appears to be a laqab of Khalīl? (Schulz, *op. cit.*, I, 163, quoting 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandi).

Dūst Muhammad's account of the painting of his own time seems to be ironclad, fortunately.

⁷³ The Rothschild *Shah Namah* of 1537 (Martin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 122-29), and the British Museum Nizāmī of 1539-43 (Martin, *ibid.*, Pls. 130-40; and L. Binyon, *The Poems of Nizami* [London, 1928]).

⁷⁴ Here again I would apply Occam's razor. The caution of Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray (*op. cit.*, p. 69) appears to rest upon a misunderstanding of Nöldeke (*Das Iranische Nationalepos* [Berlin, 1920], p. 84), who actually stated that Bāisonghor in 829 H. (1425-26),

ordered a corrected copy of the poem to be finely written, illuminated, and illustrated. This copy, I am convinced, is that finished by Dja'far Bāisonghorī in 833 H. (Jan., 1430 A.D.) which is now at Teheran. Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray give no sign of envisaging the time or cost of the production of such a book. A great *Shah Namah* was ordered in 829 H., presumably from the chief scribe, who four years later finished the copying of what is incomparably the greatest *Shah Namah* surviving from the fifteenth century. And it was then presumably that the illuminator and illustrators began their embellishments. It seems to me, in view of the leisurely infinitesimal progress of an Oriental miniaturist at work, in the highest degree likely that the twenty-two large pages of minute painting were not finished when Bāisonghor died three years later.

The *Shah Namah* of 1430, therefore, must be the "great book" of Bāisonghor, finished after his death by order of his son 'Alā al-Dawla. I hope to have an op-

thetically, is the 1396 *Khawādjū Kirmānī* manuscript the surviving remnant of Sultan Ahmed's "Miscellany"?).⁷⁵

Second, there is no reason to suppose that any other manuscript of the fourteenth century ever surpassed or equaled the sumptuousness of the Demotte *Shah Namah*. In its original state it must have comprised (assuming that the numerical proportion between illustrations and baits is normal in those parts which survive) over a hundred and thirty miniatures, each representing weeks of labor. One should, therefore, expect Dūst Muhammad to mention it.

The quality of the Bidpai is also quite exceptional. It is finer than the *Rashīdiya* manuscript which appears to have been done for Olçaitu's grand vizier,⁷⁶ and incomparably finer than the *Shah Namah* done for the well-known Indjū vizier, Kawwām al-Dīn.⁷⁷ The Bidpai is of royal quality.

The conclusion which I propose will now be obvious: *Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*.

A Bidpai of royal quality which appears, on independent grounds, to be the oldest example of mature Iranian book painting, and to date from about 1320-35, must be regarded as the Bidpai known on good authority to have been illustrated by Ahmed Musa, the reputed inventor of that style of painting which continued into Safawid times, and the most eminent artist under Abū Sa'id *Khudābanda* (1317-34).

A *Shah Namah* of unique quality and size, the style of whose chief artist seems dependent in part on that of the Bidpai master, and which appears on independent grounds to date in

portunity of publishing this argument more amply, and of disentangling the work of *Khalil* and *Ghiyāth al-Dīn*, in the Teheran *Shah Namah* on a future occasion.

⁷⁵ Cf. Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI B, with Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 49, and Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI A, with Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 50, for landscape. Aga-Oglu (*op. cit.*) read "war" for a critical word in the preface of Dūst Muhammad. Is this word "djang"? or "djung," which means "a literary miscellany"? The Royal Abū'l-Faṭḥ Bahrām for whom it was made, not hitherto identified, may be Emir Abū'l-Faṭḥ Bahrām Mirza, brother of Tahmasp I Safawi; he was a well-known bibliophile, and may have had the illuminated rosette added to the manuscript when it entered his library. Abū'l-Faṭḥ was the laqab of Bahrām Mizra (A. Godard, "Iṣfahān," *Athār-e-Īrān*, II [1937], Fasc. 1, 78, 79, for an inscription at Isfahan in the name of Bahrām). The original patron of the manuscript was probably Ahmed Djalā'ir. Just as the copying was completed, Sultan Ahmed reoccupied Baghdad; and the book may have been offered to him with the handsome illuminated dedication bound out of sight in the

middle of the volume. This would explain the hitherto puzzling displacement of the first poem in the ms. C. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1881) II, 621-22. Was Djunaid taken back to Samarkand?

Another possibility is the *Miscellany* now in the British Museum (Or. 2780) and the Beatty collection (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, No. 33). This has been assigned to Shiraz, in spite of a marked difference between it and the Shiraz ms. of 1393 only four years older. It seems far closer to the *Khawādjū Kirmānī*, and may be Baghdad work, in which event the possibility of association with Ahmed becomes very strong. It is, however, premature to distinguish Baghdad from Shiraz work too rigidly. Djunaid shares many significant habits (turban drawing, trees, the lopped-off firewood bush, etc.) with the Shiraz artists.

⁷⁶ Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36, 44-45.

⁷⁷ The 1341 *Shah Namah*; the colophon is in a private collection in Paris.



FROM SAKISIAN

FIG. 4—THE TORTOISE CAUGHT, WHILE HIS FRIENDS ESCAPE
FROM A BIDPAI MANUSCRIPT, ISTANBUL, UNIVERSITY



FROM HARADA

FIG. 5—FALCON AND HARE (DETAIL)
BY CHAO TZU-HOU, SUNG PERIOD



FROM SAKISIAN

FIG. 6—THE LION'S COURT
FROM A BIDPAI MANUSCRIPT, ISTANBUL, UNIVERSITY



FROM SAKISIAN

FIG. 7—THE MONKEY KING AND THE TORTOISE
FROM A BIDPAI MANUSCRIPT, ISTANBUL, UNIVERSITY



FIG. 8—THE FIVE PRECIOUS THINGS (DETAIL)
BY LU KUANG, YUAN PERIOD

FROM HARADA



FIG. 9—TALL TREES IN MISTY LANDSCAPE (DETAIL)
BY KUO HSI, SUNG PERIOD

FROM HARADA



FROM HARADA

FIG. 10.—HUT IN A MISTY LANDSCAPE
BY CHANG K'UNG-SUN, YUAN PERIOD



FROM HARADA

FIG. 11.—LOHAN WATCHING THE DRAGONS (DETAIL)
BY LU HSIN, YUAN PERIOD

large part from the third quarter of the fourteenth century, must be identified as the *Shah Namah* illustrated by Shams al-Dīn, pupil of Ahmed Musa for Sultan Uwais (1356-74).

These identifications are, pending the appearance of new facts, imperative. Unless they are admitted, one must, against all the evidence of verification, either void Dūst Muhammad of authority or invent artists of the first importance (since these manuscripts were plainly directed by such artists), assume, against probability, that Dūst Muhammad was ignorant of them, postulate the disappearance of the Bidpai and *Shah Namah* which he mentions, and admit the survival of the hypothetical contemporary manuscripts of which he is ignorant. It seems better to make two assumptions than four.

THE ARTISTS OF THE DEMOTTE *SHAH NAMAH*

Dūst Muhammad wrote that the *Shah Namah* was illustrated by Ustād Shams al-Dīn. It is, however, quite plain that several hands engaged in the illustrations, and his statement must be read in cognizance of the known production system of Islamic libraries;⁷⁸ Shams al-Dīn planned the illustrations, allotted some subjects to his pupils and assistants, and himself executed with or without assistance a large number of the paintings.

I shall therefore assume that the artist who may be identified as the master of the largest number of paintings, that the draughtsman of some which appear to have been colored by different hands, and that the man in whose work we find in most eminent degree those qualities of composition which appear characteristic of the illustrations as a whole is Shams al-Dīn himself.

The classification here attempted is a preliminary one. Some of the originals of the miniatures I have never seen.⁷⁹ I have not attentively studied more than a score. But the pages are now so scattered that it will be difficult in future to come to conclusions except with the aid of some preliminary classification.

It may be suggested that the miniatures of the Topkapi Sarai Müsezi *Muraḳḳa'* 1720⁸⁰ were perhaps illustrations to this manuscript. They are of the same unique bigness: remounted, they are within two centimeters of the size of the Demotte *Shah Namah*. The only one hitherto published shows the murder of the poet Daḳīḳī by his slave. In finesse, pattern, manipulation of large clear spaces, handling of drapery, and figure style this miniature appears to be the work of Ahmed Musa. The incident depicted occurs early in Firdausi's introduction to the *Shah Namah*, and the painting may therefore have been executed many years before the huge

⁷⁸ F. Krenkow-W. Heffening, "Kitābkhāna," *Encycl. Islām*, II (1927), 1045-47; M. M. Kazvini and L. Bouvat, "Deux documents inédits relatifs à Behzad," *Revue du monde musulman*, XXVI (1914), 146-61.

Dūst Muhammad himself said that Mīrak and Mīr Muṣawwir illustrated the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī which is now in the British Museum. We know, however, from what appear to be contemporary inscriptions on some of these miniatures that Mirza Ali, Sultan Muhammad, Mir Sayyid Ali, and Muzaffar Ali also did some illustrations.

It is evident therefore that Dūst Muhammad mentioned the chief masters as the artists of a manuscript, and did not think it necessary to mention minor masters and apprentices.

⁷⁹ I thank Miss Doris Brian for her friendly readiness to show me and discuss with me the photographs of these miniatures.

⁸⁰ G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris, 1907), II, 41; 2nd ed. (Paris, 1927), I, Fig. 72.

manuscript was finished; but an interesting question is opened. Was Ahmed Musa still alive when the great *Shah Namah* was begun by his most eminent pupil? Did he contribute this painting to the earliest pages? His career as an innovator began between 1317 and 1335; and since Shams al-Dīn, his pupil, learned his art between 1355 and 1374, Dūst Muhammad's account implies that Ahmed Musa survived into the reign of Uwais. His life during the five years of turmoil which followed the death of Abū Sa'īd must remain uncertain, but the fact that all his recorded pupils worked for the Djalā'irids makes it highly probable that he, with the valuable contents of the Tabriz library, was transferred to Baghdad when Hasan Buzurg removed his capital seat from Tabriz to that town in 1340.

If Ahmed Musa did contribute to the great *Shah Namah*, a strong probability that it was begun early in the career of Shams al-Dīn is established. It seems even possible that Ahmed Musa himself began it and died before much progress had been made. In either event, presumably, the paintings were mostly done in Baghdad,⁸¹ where Uwais spent the first half of his reign.

No other miniature at present known is attributable to Ahmed Musa. Among the known miniatures of the manuscript, some twenty-five bear the impress of a single style; no more than eleven or thirteen can be assigned to the next largest contributor. This style will be considered that of Shams al-Dīn.

SHAMS AL-DĪN

This very great painter will someday receive the flattering evisceration which historians accord the deserving artist. He is an authentic Iranian, breaking down verbal purpose into pure decorative pattern, most rich where the crowds of war or court allow him large assemblages of varying areas and tones. And he has a cognate talent: the exciting combination of bold, moderate, and luxurious fine-scale decorative textures. Other qualities of his are rarer. His skill in building up a picture to the top without relapsing into registers is equal to Ahmed Musa's. He has a vitality which fairly thunders. The pomp of his assemblies, the gaiety of his cavalcades, the bland majesty of his kings, the fell movement of his warriors, the reckless force of his champions, all this power swells his decorations into drama. Alone among Iranian artists he is a master of supernatural horror: a dragon, a hairy wizard, the shades from which a cold wind blows. Nature to him is the inseparable chorus of his drama, created in the same blaze of insight with men. The earth is scorched by the breath of the fire and iron horses. A tree beneath which Ardawān gallops forward seems to tremble with all its inert bulk before the brandished mace of Ardashīr, as Ardawān himself should tremble. To explain Shams al-Dīn's qualities would be only to describe tediously his masterpieces in words, less profitable than a single glance at "Bahrām Gūr and the Wolf."

The following pictures are attributed to Shams al-Dīn and the assistant painters who were most closely subordinated to him:

⁸¹ It has been proposed to rechristen this manuscript the "Great Tabriz *Shah Namah*," but a premature change

of name is unjustifiable.

2.
 Ḍaḥḥāk Enthroned (Brian, No. 1).⁸² FGA 23.5
 Shah Zav Son of Tahmasp Enthroned (Brian, No. 14).
 Shah Garshāsp Enthroned (Brian, No. 15).
 Kai Kā'ūs and his Paladins Killing the Wizards of Mazanderan (Brian, No. 16).
 Isfandiyār Reproaches Guštāsp (Brian, No. 17).
 Farāmarz Pursuing the Kābulīs (Brian, No. 25).
 Battle of Raṣḥnawād with the Rūmīs (Brian, No. 27).
 Iskandar Enthroned (Brian, No. 28).
 Iskandar Defeats the Army of Fūr of Hind (Brian, No. 30).
 Iskandar Fights the Ḥabash Monster (Brian, No. 33).
 Iskandar and His Warriors Fight a Dragon (Brian, No. 34).
 Iskandar Dismounts to Climb the Mountain of the Angel of Death (Brian, No. 35).
 Iskandar Leaving the Land of Darkness (Brian, No. 36).
 Iskandar Building a Barrier against Gog and Magog (Brian, No. 37).
 Iskandar Before the Speaking Tree (Brian, No. 38). FGA 25.1-2
 Ardashīr and Gulnār (Brian, No. 40).
 Combat Between Ardashīr and Ardawān (Brian, No. 41).
 Ardawān Brought before Ardashīr (Brian, No. 42). FGA 25.1-2
 Bahrām Gūr Killing a Dragon (Brian, No. 49).
 Bahrām Gūr in a Peasant's House (Brian, No. 50).
 Bahrām Gūr Hunting Onagers (Brian, No. 51).
 Bahrām Gūr Sends Narsī as Viceroy to Khurasan (Brian, No. 52).
 Bahrām Gūr Killing a Wolf (Brian, No. 53).
 Nūshīrwān's Fifth Banquet (Brian, No. 54).
 Nūshīrwān Rewards Buzurjmihr (Brian, No. 55). FGA 42.1-2
 Nūshīrwān Eating Food Brought by the Sons of Mahbūd (Brian, No. 56).

It seems to me that those paintings of strong contrasts and bold finish (e.g., "Iskandar Defeats the Army of Fūr of Hind," "Iskandar Fights the Monster of Ḥabash," "Bahrām Gūr in a Peasant's House") are the characteristic holographs of Shams al-Dīn. The miniatures in this style which I have seen are triumphs of rich coloring. Other work such as the "Battle of Raṣḥnawād with the Rūmīs," is of quite different finish, more monotonously fine, and of a somber coloration which partly vitiates the composition. Yet the composition itself is unmistakably that of Shams al-Dīn.

Differentiae of mere detail are untrustworthy on another count. Tricks of drawing develop with the artist's growth during the years he devoted to this book. As an example, some observations upon the drawing of horses' heads will serve.

All the horses of Shams al-Dīn differ radically and obviously from the horses of the artist

⁸² The numbers after each painting refer to the list of miniatures published by Miss Doris Brian, on pages

97-112 of this issue of *Ars Islamica*.

whom I name "Chief Assistant," by a generally greater length of head, more pronounced cheek, higher setting of the eye, and more natural curvature of the crest. But within this general difference a gradual and considerable change of drawing takes place.

In "Kai Kā'ūs Killing the Wizards of Mazanderan" there is no throat line, the heads are comparatively short, and the eye is glaring. In "Farāmarz Pursuing the Kābulis" there is a very hard throat line, but the heads are otherwise unchanged. In "Rashnawād Pursuing the Rūmīs" the throat line is occasional, the heads are moderately long, and the eye no longer glares. In "Iskandar Defeats the Army of Fūr of Hind" the throat line is occasional, and the heads unchanged. In "Iskandar Fights the Ḥabash Monster" the throat line is occasional, and the heads are longer. In "Iskandar and his Warriors Fight a Dragon" throat lines are common, and the heads are moderate in length. In "Iskandar Leaving the Land of Darkness" throat lines are common, and the heads are long. In "Iskandar Builds a Barrier against Gog and Magog" throat lines are occasional, and the heads are very long.

It will not be necessary to pursue the detail further. Shams al-Dīn's latest horse, that of "Bahrām Gūr Killing a Wolf," is a new departure, quite unlike any of its predecessors; and yet the picture is unmistakably a holograph by the master, and the horse has actually much in common with the contemporary cow of "Bahrām Gūr in a Peasant's House"!

His nature world is taken from Chinese art with a fidelity almost equal to Ahmed Musa's. Foreshortening and the third dimension occupied him little, but natural detail in the representation of ground, plants, and trees seems to have been learned entirely through copying from the Chinese model. His work makes use of different Chinese idioms and was probably taken direct from different landscapes.⁸³ Trees, grasses, and the treatment of horizons, all such details are therefore unamenable to mechanical classification. The only differentia is the style in which they are done, and their special quality of contribution to the movement of the whole picture. These elements, handled by the other masters, break, contradict, still, or diffuse. Handled by Shams al-Dīn they echo, translate, and magnify.

THE CHIEF ASSISTANT, WHO MAY BE 'ABD AL-ḤAIY

Another artist falls far more neatly into a pigeonhole. I name him the Chief Assistant, because in the number of paintings for which he is responsible he appears to be second only to Shams al-Dīn. The following paintings are attributed to him:

Zāl Climbs to Rūdāba (Brian, No. 9).

Rūdāba and Sīndukht (Brian, No. 10).

Zāl Pays Homage to Minūčīhr (Brian, No. 11).

⁸³ The hypothesis that the landscapes are by landscape specialists, and to be separately classified, seems on the whole unlikely: the different ways of drawing trees and grasses do not seem to correspond closely with other factors, such as scale and horizon. Moreover, what

appear to be mannerisms in the artists may be mannerisms in the Chinese models: e.g., for the curious placing of holes in the outer edges of tree trunks: cf. work of Liu Kuan Tao (Harada, *op. cit.*, p. 282) or Chang We (*ibid.*, p. 375).

Zāl and the Mobeds (Brian, No. 12).
 Afrāsiyāb Killing Nawdar (Brian, No. 13).
 Zāl Greets Bahman (Brian, No. 18).
 Farāmarz Kills Mihr-i Nūsh (Brian, No. 19).
 Rostam Fights Isfandiyār (Brian, No. 20).
 Hanging of Mani (Brian, No. 46).

It is possible that this master also designed, though an assistant appears to have finished:

Nūshīrwan Writes to the Khakān (Brian, No. 57).
 Mihrān Sitād Selecting a Chinese Princess (Brian, No. 58).

The most obvious differentiae for this master are his horses, with low-set glaring eye and inaccurately arched crest, and a grotesque shortness of extended arms. He is a master of decorative scale, and in his early paintings in the book he appears indifferent to the natural scale, which was Shams al-Dīn's own policy. He was presumably, therefore, already trained when he began to work as the latter's junior.⁸⁴ Natural scale was imposed upon him, apparently, somewhere between "Zāl and the Mobeds" early in the poem and his next surviving work—"Zāl Greets Bahman"—which comes more than half-way through. In the same way his superior also probably corrected the habit of drawing excessively long hands, which marks his first five miniatures. Both this trick and his manner of shortening arms seem to derive from such Mongol models as the "Siege of Arak" in the old *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*.⁸⁵ He tends to make ornament very small and to enjoy large fine-textured spaces. The refined čīnī foliation behind the throne of "Zāl Pays Homage to Minūčīhr" resembles that of certain spandrels in the 1396 *Khwādījū Kirmānī* manuscript⁸⁶ and in Timurid manuscripts.⁸⁷ He affects gold backgrounds. Although conscientious in rendering the irregularities of bark, his trees are flat (see the roots in "Zāl Climbs to Rūdāba") and the foliage of his late "Hanging of Māni" has a good deal of the beautifully minute formalization which becomes so marked in the work of *Djunaid* and the Herat school. His coloring is of the most exquisite brightness, with rose, brown, and delicate blues. He has a strong feeling for symmetry ("Zāl greets Bahman," "Rostam Fights Isfandiyār").

So much of his initial character, to which it is only reasonable to assume that he reverted in some degree after the end of his collaboration with Shams al-Dīn, i.e., in the reign of Sultan Ahmed, is close to the character of early Timurid art, that it is tempting to see more than an accidental connection. According to *Dūst Muhammad*, 'Abd al Ḥaiy was Shams al-Dīn's most eminent pupil, and it is known both from him and from Ahmed ibn 'Arabshāh^{87a} that 'Abd al-Ḥaiy, then the greatest artist of his time, was (in 1393) taken to Samarkand by Timur.

⁸⁴ This gives meaning to *Dūst Muhammad's* account of his distressed circumstances, and the manual toil to which he had been reduced when Shams al-Dīn rescued him.

⁸⁵ Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pl. LVII.

⁸⁶ Martin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 46-47.

⁸⁷ Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 860.

^{87a} *Tamerlane*, p. 314.

Dūst Muhammad related that after 'Abd al-Ḥaiy died at Samarkand all the masters imitated his work. What appears to me a work closely modeled on the late *Djalā'irid* style, and probably executed in Timur's dominions, is the curious *Shah Namah* formerly at the Monastery of Mawlawī Dervishes at Galata.⁸⁸ Some miniatures and even some folios of this manuscript appear to have been repaired by a conscientious Turkish librarian, but the compositions seem reminiscent of the Demotte *Shah Namah* throne scenes, and the big figures, so soon to disappear, seem an inheritance from the grandiose style of *Shams al-Dīn*. They are for the most part awkwardly handled. Kühnel⁸⁹ has published a miniature which appears to me to be one of those stolen from the manuscript,⁹⁰ attributing it to Tabriz and the beginning of the fifteenth century. His grounds for doing so are not given.⁹¹ He seems to see some connection with the Paris *Djuwainī* of 1438 and to assume that the manuscript was copied at Tabriz.⁹² A diametrically opposite view of Kühnel's attribution of the Paris *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* to Tabriz is that of De Lorey.⁹³ Kühnel's whole "Tabriz school" of early Timurid times consists of manuscripts associated without close analysis of style and attributed to Tabriz without stating any good reason.

Sakisian⁹⁴ has fortunately transcribed the dedicatory inscription of the old Galata *Shah Namah*. It was made for a certain Sultan Ali Mirza, "most just of the Sultans of the Earth, most virtuous of the Descendants of the Prophet, Master of the Sword and the Pen, who is victorious by the Combination of Knowledge and Action, the Ornament of the Sultanate and the Caliphate." This person was identified by Martin as Mirza Ali of Gilan (883–910 H.—1478/79–1504/5 A.D.), and by Sakisian as Sultan Ali Padishah, eldest brother of Shah Ismail Safawi. The former attribution may be rejected on the grounds that Mirza Ali is a quite different name from Sultan Ali. Against Sakisian's attribution are both the script and the inscription. At least part of the manuscript is in script similar to that of the Demotte *Shah Namah*. The inscription is epigraphically unsuitable, since the Safawis used different titles, and called themselves Safawi and Mūsawī.⁹⁵

The name Sultan Ali Mirza is plainly the name Sultan Ali with the normal appended "Mirza" of princes. Sultan Ali Mirza I identify as Sultan Ali, son of Mas'ūd, the Serbedār prince.⁹⁶

An examination of the epigraphy yields considerable support. The only inscription known to me which is to be attributed to a Serbedār is that of the tomb of Muhammad ibn Muham-

⁸⁸ Ewkaf Museum, Ms. 3079. Martin, *op. cit.*, Pls. 65–66; Sakisian, *op. cit.*, Figs. 42–43.

⁸⁹ Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 851.

⁹⁰ Sakisian, *op. cit.*, p. 35, note 3; cf. Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 851, with Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 66.

⁹¹ Kühnel, *SPA.*, pp. 1843–44.

⁹² For a contrary affirmation see Blochet, *Enluminures*, p. 89.

⁹³ In the Bibliothèque Nationale exp. catalogue, *Les Arts de l'Iran* (Paris, 1938).

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁹⁵ Cf. Ismail's inscription at Kazimain. L. Massignon, "Mission en Mesopotamie," *Mém. inst. français d'archéol. orientale du Caire*, XXXI (1912), 99–100; G. Wiet, "Epigraphy," *A Survey of Persian Art*, II (1938), 1793; Godard, "Iṣfahān," pp. 65, 71, 75, 79–80; and *idem*, "Historique du Masdjid-é Djum'a d'Iṣfahān," *Athār-é Irān*, I (1936), 257.

⁹⁶ Howorth, *op. cit.*, pp. 738–39.

mad Luḡmān at Persian Sarakhs.⁹⁷ It is dated 1356. Persian Sarakhs is a village pendant to Tūs and Meshed in the Nishapur Rub' of Khurasan.⁹⁸ In 1356 the whole Tūs and Meshed district was in the hands of the Serbedār Sipahsālār Haidar Ḳaṣṣāb, and much money was spent on the development of its water supply. The name of the builder given in Inscription C,⁹⁹ Emir Muhammad Khwā(dja), is a typical Serbedār name, since it was characteristic of the Serbedār officers to call themselves emir and Khwādja.¹⁰⁰ The inscription indicates that the Serbedārs actually used the title "Master of the Sword and the Pen."

The *Shah Namah* inscription point by point gives:

- a) Name, Sultan Ali Mirza. It is known that Sultan Ali's brother Luṭf Allah was called by the title of Mirza—unusual among the Serbedārs.¹⁰¹
- b) "Most Just of the Sultans of the Earth." Indecisive and ordinary; officers and governors in Persia were called "Sultan."
- c) "Most virtuous of the Descendants of the Prophet." Sultan Ali was a Husainid.¹⁰²
- d) "Master of the Sword and the Pen." The title is used in the inscription of Sarakhs of 1356, which at that time and place must be Serbedār.
- e) "Who is Victorious by the Combination of Knowledge and Action." A duplication of the previous title; indecisive.
- f) "Ornament of the Sultanate and the Caliphate." It is precisely in the Serbedār territory, and in the early fourteenth century, that there is found the oldest Persian inscription known to me which uses the caliphate as an absolutely meaningless ornament to titles.¹⁰³ The meaningless use must be considered a decorative continuation of the Seljuk abuse of the caliph's title.¹⁰⁴

The Serbedār prince Sultan Ali ibn Mas'ūd seems to have been an infant at the time of his father's death in 1344, since Mas'ūd's eldest son was himself a boy too young for rule.¹⁰⁵ Our only ideas about his early history must be construed from the phrase of 'Abd al-Razzāk,¹⁰⁶ who said that on his revolt Sultan Ali was "oblivious of the benefits that Timur had bestowed upon him." What were these? Presumably Sultan Ali Mirza lived under the protection of his father's old officer Mu'aiyad during the latter's long reign. Mu'aiyad voluntarily became Timur's vassal in 781 H. (1379–80 A.D.), and lived thereafter at Timur's court.¹⁰⁷ Sultan Ali

⁹⁷ E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* (Berlin, 1918), pp. 64–65.

⁹⁸ G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 382, 395–96.

⁹⁹ Diez, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁰ B. Dorn, "Die Geschichte der Serbadare nach Chondemir," *Mém. imp. acad. S. Petersbourg*, VI sér., VIII (1855), *passim*.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹⁰² Howorth, *op. cit.*, p. 726.

¹⁰³ Inscription at Damghan of 702 H. (1302 A.D.).

Quoted by A. U. Pope, "The Architecture of the Islamic Period. An Historical Outline. H. The Fourteenth Century," *A Survey of Persian Art*, II (1938), 1086.

¹⁰⁴ T. W. Arnold, "Khalifa," *Encycl. Islām* II (1927), 882–83.

¹⁰⁵ Howorth, *op. cit.*, pp. 732–33.

¹⁰⁶ *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi (nationale)*, trans. by E. Quatremère (Paris, 1843), XIV, 26.

¹⁰⁷ V. F. Büchner, "Serbedārs," *Encycl. Islām*, IV (1934), 233.

Mirza was probably likewise one of the emirs at court and must have stayed there after Mu'aiyad's death in 788 H. (1386–87 A.D.), since Timur appointed one of his own people to the fief of Sabzawar, and Sultan Ali appears to have taken no part in the Serbedār revolt of 791 H. (1389 A.D.).¹⁰⁸ In 807 H. (1404–5 A.D.), during the unrest which followed Timur's death, Sultan Ali Mirza enlisted the support of the Serbedārs and raised his standard at Sabzawar, the old seat of his family. After a brief campaign he was defeated, surrendered to Mīrānshāh Mirza, and was sent in chains to Herat.

In view of the fact that there is no evidence for the reconstruction, nor even the supposition, of painting at Timur's court before 1393, the old Galata monastery *Shah Namah* may be attributed to the period of between 1393 and 1404–5, at Timur's court, where Sultan Ali Mirza presumably was. The conservatism of its style may be estimated not only by the size of the figures, but also by the drawing of the hats (*Fig. 2*), showing the survival in this school of the flaring split brim of the early fourteenth century (Nos. *c, d, k, l*). Surprise at its survival in the Demotte *Shah Namah* (Nos. *g, k, p, y, z*) must therefore be sensibly modified.

The landscape of Sultan Ali Mirza's *Shah Namah* is of particular interest,¹⁰⁹ since it shows the landscape elements already far advanced from the grandeur and concentration of the Demotte *Shah Namah*¹¹⁰ toward the attenuation, and even distribution, of the full Timurid style.¹¹¹ Only the large heavy leaves of the earlier style survive of all its grandeur, and they, too, diminished in the Teheran Bidpai,¹¹² which has been placed some ten years later, are gone in the Teheran *Shah Namah* of 1430, not to return.

'Abd al-Ḥaiy may be considered the chief founder of the early Timurid school, and the Teheran Bidpai¹¹³ is presumably the work of his pupils. Correspondences of color are marked, and such a landscape as the immature "Afrāsiyāb Killing Nawdar" shows an interesting number of incipient mannerisms: nodding rocks, rocks like rock buns, tufts with a base line used as *semé*. Again, the architecture of "Hanging of Mani" has long use in Timurid art.¹¹⁴ And the ground of "Zāl greets Bahman" has the Timurid "conglomerate horizon." On the whole I am inclined to believe that the Chief Assistant is 'Abd al-Ḥaiy.

Paintings in the so-called Schulz *Shah Namah*¹¹⁵ seem to be the work of this artist.

THE ILLUMINATOR

No hand is as easily recognizable as is this. Here is an artist of curious character. I name him the Illuminator because he evinces a knowledge of the illuminator's rules of proportion

¹⁰⁸ Howorth, *op. cit.*, III, p. 738.

¹⁰⁹ Martin, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. 66.

¹¹⁰ E.g., M. S. Dimand, *Islamic Miniature Painting* (New York, 1933–34), Pl. 10.

¹¹¹ E.g., Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 869, 881, etc.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Pls., 865–68; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXVIII, XXXIV–XXXVI.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pls. 865–68.

¹¹⁴ E.g., *ibid.*, Pl. XLII B.

¹¹⁵ Schulz, *op. cit.*, Pls. 14–18; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 832.

and is a master of the true Iranian *islīmī*, which is the very language of fourteenth-century illumination. The following paintings are attributed to him:

The Funeral of Isfandiyār (Brian, No. 22).

Dārāb Sleeping (Brian, No. 26). FGA. 3678

Kaid of Hind and Mihrān (Brian, No. 29).

The Death of Āzāda (Brian, No. 47).

He is identified by a peculiar kind of cloud, sometimes totally misapprehended or wilfully abused (it is actually used as if it were a mountain-rendering on the right of "The Death of Āzāda"!), a peculiar kind of grass tuft, a peculiar double line used as ground texture and doubtless derived from a Chinese brocade (in "The Death of Āzāda" and "Kaid of Hind and Mihrān"), an occasional sensitive outline, e.g., for loose muscle or soft leather, and a way of drawing sleeve wrinkles so that a rather hard edge appears to run down the middle of the forearm.¹¹⁶ His animal style is charming, and its formulae are reminiscent of the illuminated border to the frontispiece of the Bibliothèque Nationale 1237 Ḥarīrī.¹¹⁷ In "Dārāb Sleeping" this painter produced his masterpiece. It is here that the illuminator reveals his trade. Each side of the rectangle is divided into seven parts. Of the base line the liwan sides each occupy two-sevenths and the liwan opening three-sevenths. The floor of the liwan is at one-seventh of its height, and the upper square compartments of the sides occupy one-quarter of the total side. The stately eloquence of this picture's almost empty compartments is like nothing so much as certain illuminated pages of the great Mongol *Korans*.¹¹⁸

A strange eruption of professional principle is found in the "landscape" of "Kaid of Hind and Mihrān." The five *semés* which are used as ground textures (horizontal and vertical single and double strokes, and a complex brocade *buta* which is absolutely repeated) are each confined within an ironbound compartment. I smell obstinacy here; the devout, and perhaps correct, belief that the principles of illumination are superior to the principles of illustration.

THE RASHĪDĪYA STYLE

At least nine of the illustrations in the book are by an artist or artists whose draughtsmanship was imbibed from the masters of the Rashīdīya library. There is no need to labor a point which has been everywhere admitted.¹¹⁹ Some of these illustrations are probably the best known of the whole series; and both De Lorey and Stchoukine began in this quarter the task of distinguishing individual work in the great book.¹²⁰ In deference to them I consider first the

¹¹⁶ Formulation by repetition of strokes from a stroke used in the Rashīdīya style; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX B.

¹¹⁷ Exhibited at Paris, 1938; unpublished.

¹¹⁸ E.g., R. Ettinghausen, "Manuscript Illumination," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York, 1938), V, Pl. 936 B.

¹¹⁹ See especially Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne*,

pp. 82 ff. and 137-42.

¹²⁰ Stchoukine attributed three to the Master of the Pathetic, and his division into periods has some of the same lines that my division into artists has. He has also correctly recognized a single hand in "Iskandar and the Barrier," "Iskandar and the Tree," "Iskandar Enthroned," and "Garshāsp Enthroned," and has made other divisions.

painter whom De Lorey has named, with elegant enthusiasm, "The Master of the Pathetic."

To the Master of the Pathetic are attributed:

Coffin of Īraj Brought to Farīdūn (Brian, No. 7).

Farīdūn Mourning Īraj (Brian, No. 8).

Rustam Slaying Shaghād (Brian, No. 23).

The Funeral of Rustam (Brian, No. 24).

It is unfortunate that in many miniatures throughout the manuscript skillful retouching appears to have been done, especially to the faces. This master in especial seems to have suffered from the attention of restorers. Another group of miniatures closely resembles his work, and if, as seems possible, the faces in this second group are largely repainted by another restorer than the restorer of the first group, it would be difficult to distinguish them. This second group, in which the bottle shoulders of the Rashīdiya style are peculiarly noticeable, includes:

Farīdūn Questions His Mother (Brian, No. 2).

Ṭainūsh Before Iskandar and the Visit to the Brahmans (Brian, No. 32).

Ardashīr and His Wife (Brian, No. 43).

Both groups are marked by a combination of thick gloomy color with the striated technique which seems to have been introduced by Ahmed Musa. Drapery has a peculiar swag, taken wholesale from Rashīdiya models, and animals, except where they appear to be copied from powerful Chinese originals (the dead horse's head which is used both in "Rustam Slaying Shaghād" and "The Funeral of Rustam") are generally handled with a great want of success. Flowers are kept clear of the figures and forms whose interstices they fill, with artless care. But a most endearing charm marks some of these miniatures. In the corners are sketched little landscapes ("Rustam Slaying Shaghād" and "Iskandar Visits the Brahmans"), which seem like "magic casements" opening on a poet's mind. These landscapes connect the groups with:

Rustam Slays Isfandiyār (Brian, No. 21).

More details (Rustam's face, and Rustam's right hand) are so similar in the last miniature and in "Rustam Slaying Shaghād" that one can hardly see the propriety of supposing two artists. In "Rustam Slays Isfandiyār" is exhibited with pathetic simplicity the old artist's inability to draw outside the prescriptions of his education. Drapery is either done with the angular folds of the Rashīdiya style (and compare Rustam's leg with the leg of Muntaṣīr in the old *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*) or with a most ineffective streaking (sleeves).

I have called him an "old artist." If, as seems certain, he had completed his training and formed his technique before the Rashīdiya library staff was finally scattered in 1336,¹²¹ he

¹²¹ Rashīd al-Dīn's son Ghiyāth al-Dīn was a book patron (Howorth, *op. cit.*, Pl. 636) and seems to have

supported the Rashīdiya, since the quarter was plundered at his fall.

must have been born early in the century. Thus, he was probably in his sixties when he worked at the *Shah Namah*. One cannot teach an old dog new tricks, and I suspect that the inequalities and differences in the Rashīdiya style miniatures of the book are due rather to a single man's effort to adapt his repertoire to the taste, and his methods to the imposed designs, of his more youthful superior than to the assistance of several different artists of the elder generation. For this reason I am reluctant to suggest a different hand even in the confused:

Iskandar Kills Fūr (Brian, No. 31).

The general disposition and the whirl of the dust of "Iskandar Kills Fūr" are well conceived. It may be compared with the Mahabharata battle of the old *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh*.¹²² But whether the artist's powers of execution were hopelessly failing or whether he died before it was achieved and the work was hastily finished by some junior, and not very promising, apprentice, the execution of the picture went astray. The artist failed to understand the position of the left champion's horse, whose knotted tail swings in front of the nearest horse's head (which horse is lower than the champion's!) One must not underestimate the merits of the Rashīdiya master. He brought to his subjects something of the pain and tension which gives the earlier manuscripts their special greatness. His work is the most solemn in the book.

What remains is a miscellany:

The Bier of Iskandar (Brian, No. 39). *F. 15 A 38.3*

Ardashir and His Dastūr (Brian, No. 44).

These two miniatures have a very hard linear finish, in some ways not unlike that of "Iskandar Fights Fūr." The former of the two is perhaps of mixed workmanship, for the plaitwork, the *islīmī* spandrels, and *čīnī* foliation are like the work of Shams al-Dīn, whereas the crowding of the groups of figures is quite unlike his achievements in the same vein.

Four miniatures appear very extensively repainted:

Farīdūn Captures Daḥḥāk (Brian, No. 3).

Farīdūn Leading Daḥḥāk Captive (Brian, No. 4).

Farīdūn, as a Dragon, Tests His Sons (Brian, No. 5).

Bahrām Bahrāmiyān Enthroned (Brian, No. 45).

Perhaps the work was done in the seventeenth century by some such artist as Muhammad Zamān (compare the rocks and dragon of "Farīdūn's Sons and the Dragon" with Muhammad Zamān's addition to the British Museum *Nizāmī* of Tahmasp).¹²³ "Bahrām Bahrāmiyān Enthroned" seems to have been originally painted by the Chief Assistant.

Two miniatures seem to be by a Mongol artist rather like the painter who illustrated certain fables in the 1343-44 Bidpai:

Salm and Tūr Kill Īradj (Brian, No. 6).

Bahrām Gūr in Jamshid's Treasure House (Brian, No. 48).

¹²² Martin, *op. cit.*, Pl. 30, lower.

¹²³ Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 925 B.

The Mongol quality is unmistakable, and neither of these purely diagrammatic compositions has any real trace of the influence of Shams al-Dīn. There is a tendency to resolve the complex setting into a backdrop, an unmistakable reminiscence of some Mongol school which remained independent of the Rashīdīya, and which is still most imperfectly understood (the animals of the Treasure may be compared with the horse of the 1290 Djuwainī¹²⁴ and even with the beasts of the now dispersed Mongol *Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān*).¹²⁵

At this point the present consideration may be ended. When the chief monuments of fourteenth-century painting shall all have been situated to the general satisfaction, it will be proper to undertake a profound study of this great *Shah Namah*. It is as a contribution to an understanding of the whole period that the present thesis is offered.

It rests upon the proposition that wide and gradual processes are not the only occasion of change, that individual genius, even if rarely, brings about startling innovations for which the times are unconsciously ripe. Revolutions come when ordinary men are ready for them, and they profoundly affect the ordinary man, but they are led by extraordinary men.

That Ahmed Musa foresaw the results of his innovations I do not believe. His personal aim was to produce paintings which would stand comparison with the work of the Yuan academy, and his method was approximation. But the faithful copies of Chinese nature painting which he made, and which he taught his greatest pupil to make, provided in the Djalā'irid and Timurid libraries a whole gallery of native models whose power and subtlety both of color and movement eclipsed the older art of Islam. These models furnished Iranian art with an abundance of new material that was not assimilated before about 1430. Our annals record no comparable personal contribution.

¹²⁴ Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. XVI, Persian introduction, pp. xx-xxi.

¹²⁵ Schulz, *op. cit.*, I, Pls. K, L; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. IX B; Kühnel, *SPA.*, Pl. 821.

SOME WOOLEN GIRTHS FROM EGYPT

BY SIGNHILD WIKLUND AND CARL JOHAN LAMM

THE WOOLEN GIRTHS IN DOUBLE WEAVING THAT FORM THE SUBJECT OF THIS PAPER BELONG to those numerous types of textiles which, if one is to believe the art dealers in Cairo, are recovered from the inexhaustible mounds and rubbish heaps in and near Fustāṭ. The specimens to be discussed in the following belong to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (presented by Leigh Ashton), the National Museum, Stockholm (presented by C. J. L.), the Röhss Museum of Arts and Crafts, Göteborg (acquired through C. J. L.), and the Museum for the History of Culture (Kulturen), Lund (also acquired through C. J. L.). The writers wish to express their gratitude to the directors of these museums for permission to publish the photographs that were generously taken at their request.

The sections "Technique: General Considerations" and "Description and Technical Analysis of Four Specimens" are by Signhild Wiklund; the remainder of the article is by C. J. Lamm.

TECHNIQUE: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

When first examining these girths, we were inclined to record them as tablet-woven. A thorough investigation into their technique, however, proved them to be double weaves (two separate, plain, or tabby weaves forming patterns by interchanging) produced with shafts and heddles.

To produce a double weave with this type of pattern with tablets is by no means difficult; Margarethe Lehmann-Filhés¹ described the procedure of double weaving with tablets and also with two tablet-woven woolen ribbons from Iceland² as well as a double-woven woolen girth from Cairo³—the only example of the class of Oriental textiles we are here particularly concerned with that has so far been published.

To distinguish a tablet-woven from a shaft-woven double weave, the places where colors and patterns change from face to back weave, and vice versa, must be examined. When producing a double weave with tablets, a four-hole tablet and two colors, e.g., black and white, must be employed. The warp ends are drafted as follows: hole 1, black; hole 2, black; hole 3, white; hole 4, white. The tablet is worked with a corner up, and not with a side up, as in ordinary tablet weaving, where the tablet is turned half a turn to make top and bottom sides change places. In this way one shed only is produced, but for double weaving two separate sheds are needed. When the tablet is worked with a corner pointing upward, as mentioned above, two separate sheds are obtained. By turning the tablet a quarter turn holes 1 and 2 change places, producing a plain weave in the face weave; holes 3 and 4 do likewise in the back weave. By using two separate wefts two pieces of material are produced; if one weft only is used and the weft is worked 2 face weave, 2 back weave, a material with double width is obtained. If the

¹ *Über Brettchen-Weberei* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 31-34.

² *Ibid.*, Figs. 45 and 46.

³ *Ibid.*, Fig. 47.

weft is worked 1 face weave, 1 back weave, a tube is produced. These weaves, however, have no pattern and are, if the proper color for the weft is employed, a solid black or white. In order to produce a pattern, e.g., white on black ground, some of the tablets must be turned twice in the same direction to make the white warp ends appear on the face. In the turning of the tablet the warp ends are twisted half a turn around one another. This twisting is easily observed in a careful examination of the places where color and pattern change from back to face weave, or vice versa. The twisting of the warp ends also tightens and strains them, and the surface of the material—if small patterns are produced—is not smooth and even.

The twisting mentioned above is not found in any of the girths I have examined, neither are the warp ends tightened or strained, and the surface is perfectly smooth and even. Taken together, the circumstances prove these girths to be shaft-woven.

Kurt Hentschel described and reproduced a very simple type of *Halbschaft-Webstuhl* for the production of double weave.⁴ He also gave a complete, very detailed description of the implements needed and all the movements of the shafts necessary for the production of double weave.

DESCRIPTION AND TECHNICAL ANALYSIS OF FOUR SPECIMENS

The material used in the girths brought from Egypt is a lustrous wool of high quality; both warp and weft are two-ply. To indicate spinning and twining directions the letters *Z* and *S* are employed: *Z* = counterclockwise movement, *S* = clockwise movement.

STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM, 58/1939 (C. J. L. I, 32. FIG. 1)

Two fragments.—Length, 50 and 37 cm.; width, 9 cm.

Weft.—Brown; face weave, 61–76 picks on 10 cm.; back weave, 61–70 picks on 10 cm.; *Z*-twined out of *S*-spun strands.

Warp.—*Face weave*: 7 colors, *Z*-twined out of 2 *S*-spun strands. *Inscriptions*: 193–213 ends. Left to right (i.e., from the top to the bottom): 4 brown, 14 dark blue and pale orange, 25–30 brown and grayish white, 4 carmine red, 30–34 dark blue and brick red, 8 brown and grayish white, 26–30 greenish blue and carmine red, 7 brown and grayish white, 30–34 dark blue and brick red, 4 carmine red, 24–28 brown and grayish white, 16 dark blue and pale orange. Pale orange, grayish white, brick red, and carmine red are used for inscriptions; dark blue, brown, and greenish blue for the ground. *Plain weave between inscriptions*: 183 ends. Left to right: 4 brown, 14 dark blue and pale orange, 24 brown, 4 carmine red, 28 dark blue, 8 brown and grayish white, 24 greenish blue, 7 brown and grayish white, 28 dark blue, 4 carmine red, 22 brown, 16 dark blue and pale orange. *Back weave*: 7 colors, same as face weave, reversed as to pattern and ground. *Inscriptions*: 131–151 ends. Left to right: 4 brown, 8 dark blue and pale orange, 16–20 brown and grayish white, 4 carmine red, 20–24 dark blue and

⁴ "Herstellung der peruanischen und mexikanischen 2- und 3-schichtigen Hohlgewebe," *Baessler Archiv*, XX

(1936), 97–112.

brick red, 6 brown and grayish white, 16–20 greenish blue and carmine red, 7 brown and grayish white, 20–24 dark blue and brick red, 4 carmine red, 16–20 brown and grayish white, 10 dark blue and pale orange. *Plain weave between inscriptions*: 157 ends. Left to right: 4 brown, 8 dark blue and pale orange, 22 grayish white, 4 carmine red, 26 brick red, 6 brown and grayish white, 22 carmine red, 7 brown and grayish white, 26 brick red, 4 carmine red, 22 grayish white, 10 dark blue and pale orange.

Warp ends are drafted on 4 shafts, 1 dark, 1 light, e.g., shaft 1, brown; shaft 2, grayish white; shaft 3, brown; shaft 4, grayish white.

Weft: 1 of face weave, 1 of back weave.

The highest number of warp ends in the face weave is found where the changes of color and pattern from face to back weave are most numerous, and in correspondence herewith the lowest where the changes of color and pattern are the fewest. In the back weave this circumstance is contrary to the face weave; where the changes of color and pattern from back to face weave are most numerous, the warp ends are the fewest, and vice versa.

Apparently this particular dividing of the warp ends in face and back weave is because of a wish to produce a fine and dense surface and a rich design such as is in this inscription. It might have been of interest to show the movements of the warp ends of this particular girth on point paper, face and back weave not being similar. This figure, however, would have been highly technical, and the explanation would have gone beyond the aim of this article.

The inscription, according to Professor L. A. Meyer, Jerusalem, repeats the elements ل م ك (mā, k, l), in Kufic. If these detached elements were placed in another order one would get the same word ملك ("your possession") as in a fragment in Lund to be described in the following (*Fig. 11*).

STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM, 57/1939 (C. J. L. 1, 31. *FIG. 2*)

Length, 24 cm.; width, 9.5 cm.

Weft.—Light brown, Z-twined out of 2 S-spun strands; face weave, 78 picks on 10 cm.; back weave, 79 picks on 10 cm.

Warp.—Z-twined out of 2 S-spun strands. *Face weave*: 7 colors, 222–42 ends. Left to right: 6 brownish purple, 8 greenish blue and carmine red, 30–34 greenish blue and brownish yellow, 8 greenish blue and carmine red, 44–48 brownish purple and buff, 30–34 medium blue and carmine red, 46–50 brownish purple and buff, 8 greenish blue and carmine red, 6 brownish purple. Brownish yellow, buff, and carmine red used for inscriptions; greenish blue, medium blue, and brownish purple used for ground.

The *back weave* of the girth is rather badly damaged. Accordingly, it has not been possible to count the warp ends over the full width of the back weave. It is, however, evident that the face weave has been allotted a higher number of warp ends than the back weave. Where a zone in the face weave numbers 30–34 ends, the back numbers 20–28 only. The aim of this dividing of the warp ends must have been the same as in National Museum No. 58/1939—to obtain a fine and dense face weave with possibilities for rich designing.

Warp ends are drafted on 4 shafts, 1 dark, 1 light, e.g., shaft 1, greenish blue; shaft 2, brownish yellow; shaft 3, greenish blue; shaft 4, brownish yellow.

Weft: 1 of face weave, 1 of back weave.

The *inscriptions* (read by Professor H. S. Nyberg, Uppsala, and by C. J. L.) are of two kinds. Those in the central and the outer zones repeat the element اا, in Kufic, and those in the two intermediate stripes, of angular Neskhi letters worked in buff on brownish purple grounds, run as follows:

.... (imper.) قاف الأعادي يا فارس اخ

.... detect the enemies, thou horseman!

STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM, 59/1939 (C. J. L. I, 33. FIG. 4 [DETAIL])

Length, 54.5 cm.; width, 6.5 cm.

Weft.—Buff, S-twined out of 2 Z-spun strands, loosely twined; face weave, 48–50 picks on 10 cm.; back weave, 50 picks on 10 cm.

Warp.—S-twined out of 2 Z-spun strands. *Face weave*: 5 colors, 110 ends. Left to right: 6 brown and buff, 6 blue, 24 red and buff, 40 mauve and buff, 22 red and buff, 6 blue, 6 brown and buff. *Back weave*: 5 colors, same as face weave, but reversed as to pattern and ground, 110 ends. Buff used for pattern; brown, blue, red, and mauve used for ground.

Warp ends are drafted on 4 shafts, 1 dark, 1 light, e.g., shaft 1, red; shaft 2, buff; shaft 3, red; shaft 4, buff.

Weft: 1 of face weave, 1 of back weave.

The number of warp ends is the same in face and back weave, and consequently the quality is the same in both weaves. This girth is of considerably coarser quality than the other girths in the National Museum, Stockholm. The colors are faded.

At one end the girth is striped in weft direction, the weaves forming a tube. According to the weft being worked, 1 face weave, 1 back weave, and the warp being drafted on 4 shafts, 1 dark, 1 light, each second stripe in the face weave is a solid buff, all buff ends of the face weave being lifted, and each second stripe partly red, partly mauve, all red and mauve ends of the face weave being lifted. In the back weave the stripes are, as regards color, reversed to the face weave. The solid blue bordering stripes weave blue in both weaves.

STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM, 60/1939 (C. J. L. I, 34. FIG. 5 [DETAIL])

Three parts.—Total length, 57 cm.; width, 8 cm.

Weft.—Dark brown, S-twined out of 2 Z-spun strands; face weave, 52 picks on 10 cm.; back weave, 52 picks on 10 cm.

Warp.—S-twined out of 2 Z-spun strands. *Face weave*: 6 colors, 150 ends. Left to right: 8 dark brown and grayish white, 16 intense red and pale orange, 10 dark brown and grayish

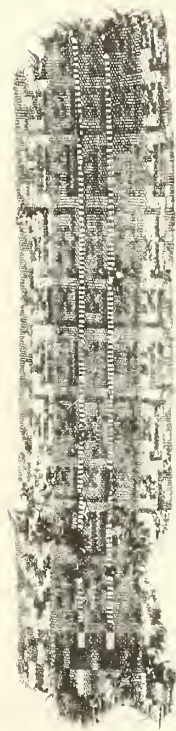


FIG. 1—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM, 58/ 1939
(TWO FRAGMENTS, FACE AND BACK)

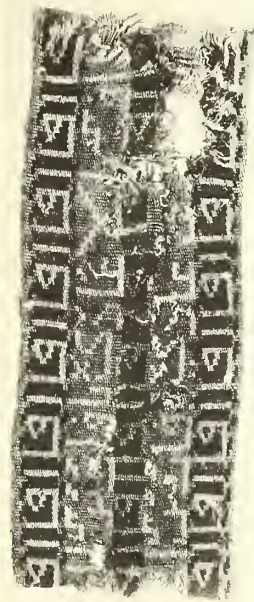


FIG. 2—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM, 57/ 1939



FIG. 4—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM, 59/ 1939 (DETAIL)

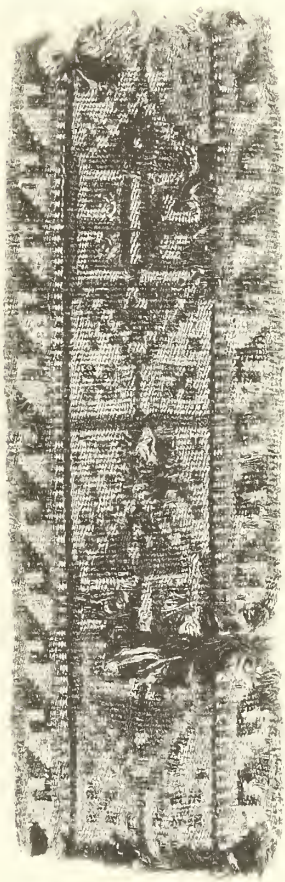


FIG. 3—GÖTEBORG, NATIONAL MUSEUM, 101/ 1935 (BACK)

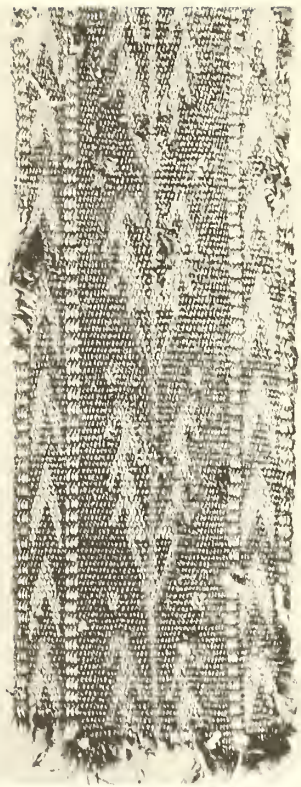


FIG. 5—STOCKHOLM, NATIONAL MUSEUM, 60/ 1939 (DETAIL)

WOOLEN GIRTHS FROM EGYPT

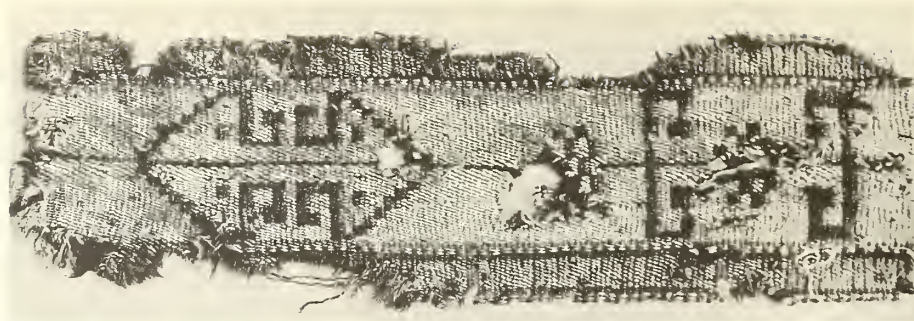


FIG. 6—GÖTEBORG, RÖHSS MUSEUM, 102/ 1935 (BACK)



FIG. 7—GÖTEBORG, RÖHSS MUSEUM, 99/ 1935

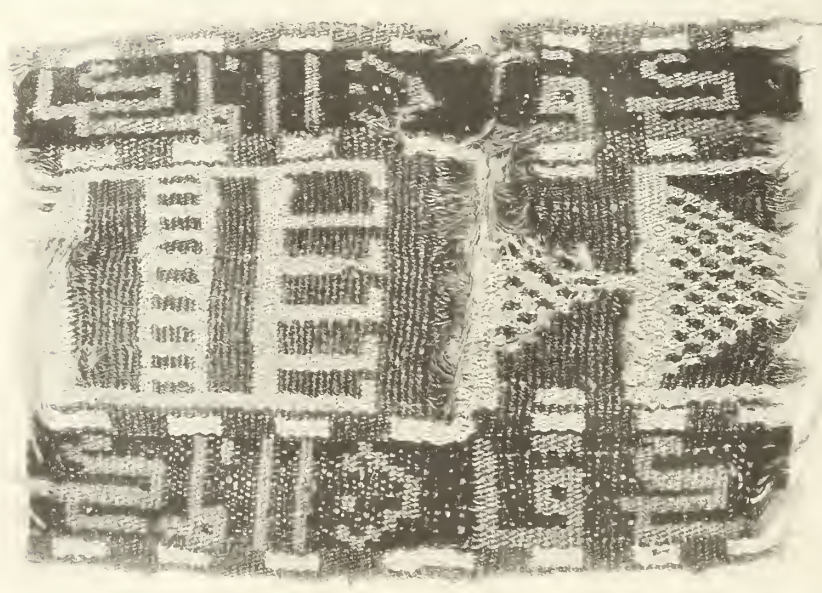


FIG. 8—GÖTEBORG, RÖHSS MUSEUM, 96/ 1935

WOOLEN GIRTHS FROM EGYPT

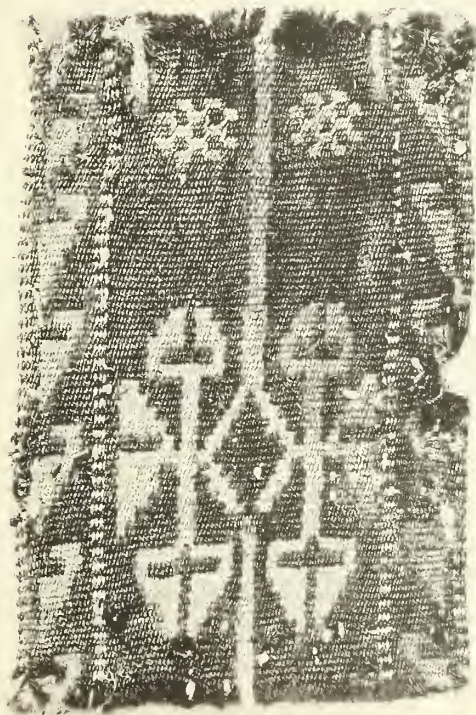


FIG. 9—GÖTEBORG, RÖHSS MUSEUM, 100/ 1935 (FACE)

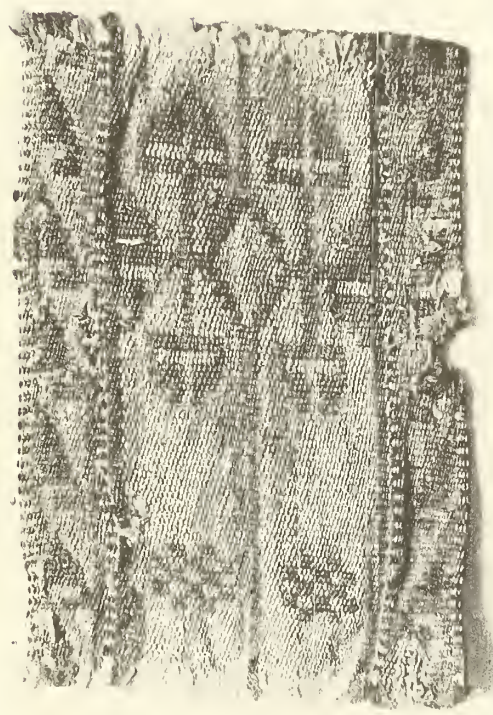


FIG. 10—SAME AS FIG. 9 (BACK)

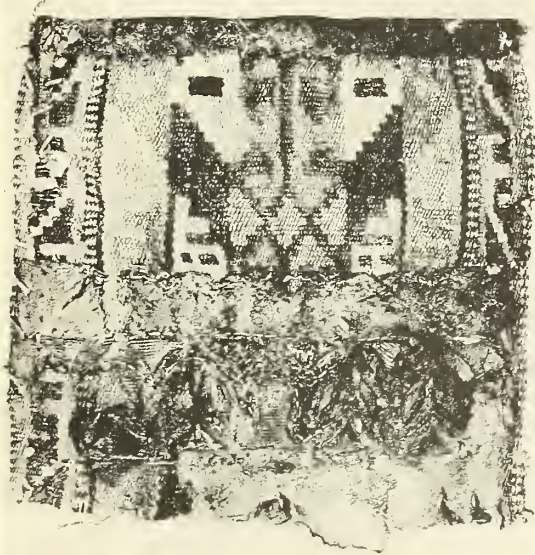


FIG. 11—LUND, KULTUREN, 37, 612

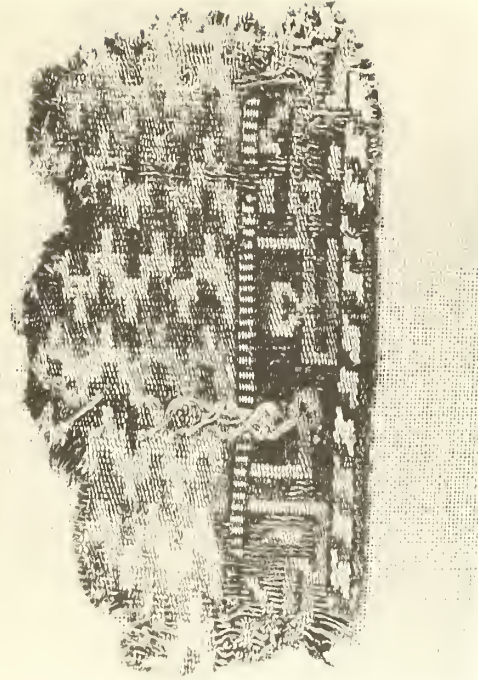


FIG. 12—LUND, KULTUREN, 37, 611

WOOLEN GIRTHS FROM EGYPT

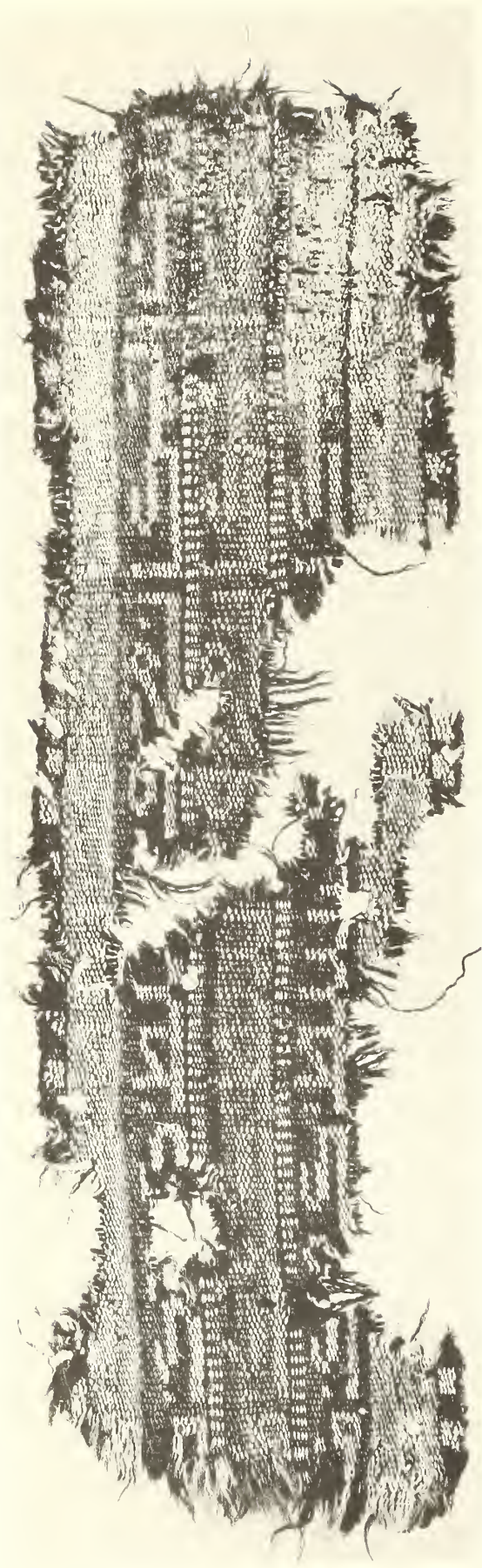


FIG. 13—LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, T. 73-1934 (FACE)



FIG. 14—SAME AS FIG. 13 (BACK)
WOOLEN GIRTHS FROM EGYPT

white, 4 intense red, 64 dark blue and light blue, 4 intense red, 10 dark brown and grayish white, 16 intense red and pale orange, 8 dark brown and grayish white. *Back weave*: 6 colors, same as face weave, but reversed as to pattern and ground, 150 ends.

Intense red, pale orange, and light blue used for pattern, dark blue used for ground, dark brown and grayish white used for bordering stripes.

Warp ends are drafted on 4 shafts, 1 dark, 1 light, e.g., shaft 1, dark blue; shaft 2, light blue; shaft 3, dark blue; shaft 4, light blue.

Weft: 1 of face weave, 1 of back weave.

The number of ends in face and back weave is the same, and consequently the quality is the same in both weaves.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF OTHER SPECIMENS REPRODUCED

The following specimens all belong to the same class of textiles as those already described.

GÖTEBORG, RÖHSS MUSEUM, 101/1935 (FIG. 3 [BACK])

Length, 39 cm.; width, 12.5 cm.

Dark brown weft: 5 warp colors, viz., purple violet, buff, dark blue, dark brown, and purplish red. The central zone has formal patterns on the face in buff on a purple-violet background. The reciprocal designs of the borders are in buff and dark blue.

GÖTEBORG, RÖHSS MUSEUM, 102/1935 (FIG. 6 [BACK])

Length, 29 cm.; width, 8.5 cm.

Brown weft: 5 warp colors, viz., red, grayish white, buff, blue, and brown. The central zone has in the face weave, of which only a slight portion remains, formal designs in red on a grayish white background. The reciprocal bordering design of angular S-shape in buff and blue is not visible on the reproduction.

GÖTEBORG, RÖHSS MUSEUM, 99/1935 (FIG. 7)

Length, 21 cm.; width, 15.5 cm.

Buff weft: 6 warp colors, viz., brownish red, yellowish gray, dark blue, green, buff, and brown. There are 3 zones containing formal patterns; those of the central zone are in green on a brownish red background. The patterns of the other zones are as to their coloring divided lengthwise, so that the outer halves are in yellowish gray on brownish red grounds, and the inner halves are in buff on dark blue.

GÖTEBORG, RÖHSS MUSEUM, 96/1935 (FIG. 8)

Length, 15.5 cm.; width, 10.5 cm.

Purple weft: 5 warp colors, viz., purple, buff, dark blue, red, and green. The central zone contains formal patterns in buff on a purple background. The bordering inscriptions, in red on

dark blue grounds, are in an angular Neskhi somewhat resembling Kufic. They may be rendered as follows:

...ك قادا المكان(?)...
x x x the place (?)....

The first complete word in the inscription may be an error for قدا, "to be near."

GÖTEBORG, RÖHSS MUSEUM, 100/1935 (FIGS. 9 [FACE] AND 10 [BACK])

Length, 20 cm.; width, 13.5 cm.

Buff weft: 4 warp colors, viz., red, grayish white, dark blue, and buff. The central zone has (in the face weave) brownish white formal patterns standing on a red background.

LUND, KULTUREN, 37,612 (FIG. 11)

Length and width, each, 17 cm.

Brown weft: 4 warp colors, viz., yellowish white, dark blue, red, and brown. The patterns are formal; in the borders are S-shapes forming scrolls. The girth is trimmed with leather fixed with linen thread. The trimmings consist of a plain edging and of a transverse band with an openwork design.

LUND, KULTUREN, 37,611 (FIG. 12)

Length, 14 cm.; width (not complete), 7.5 cm.

Weft and warp colors as in the previous specimen. The bordering inscription, in an angular Neskhi resembling Kufic, which is done in red and which stands on a dark blue ground, may be read as follows (the reading was suggested by Professor H. S. Nyberg):

جميعي مالك
all of me is your possession....

LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, T 73-1934 (FIGS. 13 [FACE] AND 14 [BACK])

Length, 32 cm.; width, 9.5 cm.

Dark brown weft: 6 warp colors, viz., buff, brownish yellow, red, blue, green, and dark brown. Out of the 5 bands containing the same inscription in an angular Neskhi resembling Kufic, the central band has red letters on a green ground. The outer bands have buff letters on red grounds, and the intermediate bands have brownish yellow letters on blue foundations. Only the word المكان ("the place"; cf. Fig. 8) is legible. (Two faded fragments of another girth in the same museum [T 74 and A/1934] have long inscriptions, the interpretation of which is equally difficult.)

GENERAL REMARKS

The problems that the study of these girths presents may be summed up in the following way: How were they made? For what purpose? At what date? And in which country?

The first question has been answered in a preceding paragraph in a definite way: these

girths are not tablet-woven, but were produced with shafts and heddles. The technique of double weaving was in wide use in the Near East from the latter part of the medieval period.⁵

The outline of the history of double cloth weaving is given by Nancy A. Reath;⁶ several examples ascribed chiefly to the Mameluke period are described by C. J. Lamm.⁷ In ordinary double cloth weft and warp are both visible, whereas in the girths we are here studying the wefts are entirely hidden, as in rep and tapestry weaving.

Although some of the fragments here described have come down to us in a ragged state, the great solidity of their texture is still to be observed. For that reason alone they may well have served as saddle girths, and the leather trimmings to be found on one of them are a further indication of their having been used for such a purpose. The definite proof, however, is afforded by the inscription on one of the examples belonging to the National Museum, Stockholm (*Fig. 2*). As has already been stated, its inscription contains an incitement to a horseman (*fāris*) to detect the enemies, or to find them in their hiding places. The word "place" (*makān*) occurring in two of the other inscriptions cited may well fall within the same line of ideas, and the phrase "all of me is your possession" may be related to the horseman as owner of the horse. Of course, this neither excludes that such girths were used for saddles on other animals than horses, nor implies that girths of this kind were exclusively fastened round the belly of the riding animal. Unfortunately, the ethnographical material actually at hand does not allow too positive a statement on these matters, but reference may be made to the way in which Bedouins sometimes have many bands hanging down from the saddles of their camels. Of this type is the camel's saddle used by watchmen in Trans-Jordan⁸ and Syria.⁹

The same scarcity of material for comparison, which could not be compensated for by the study of miniatures and of Arabic texts on horsemanship, is even more evident when one attempts to answer the last two questions mentioned above—that of date and that of place of origin. None of the inscriptions studied contains a date or any indication that might serve as a basis for the dating. As for the types of lettering, the curious kind of angular, or rather "angularized," Neskhi often met with (this type of lettering is to some extent caused by the weaving technique) indicates a date posterior to the end of the twelfth century A.D. Further, as there is no trace of influence from Osmanli writing, one may perhaps conclude that these girths were made previous to the second half of the sixteenth century, but it must at once be admitted that this *terminus ante quem* is less absolute than our *terminus a quo*. The entire character of these girths, and the way they were employed, assigns them, not to the up-to-date art of the cities and of the leading classes, but to popular art, in which conservative tendencies always make themselves strongly felt, particularly in the field of textiles.

⁵ The technique as used in Persia has been described by P. Ackerman, "Persian Weaving Techniques," *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York, 1939), III, 2201 ff.

⁶ *The Weaves of Hand-loom Fabrics* (Philadelphia, 1927), pp. 23 ff.

⁷ *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles of the Near East* (Paris, 1937), p. 160.

⁸ B. Thomas, *Araberna* (Helsingfors, 1939), figure facing p. 216.

⁹ *The Illustrated London News* (June 27, 1936), figure on p. 1157.

In their vigorous and highly conventionalized designs, as well as in their coloring, these girths are much more reminiscent of East Anatolian, Caucasian, and, above all, Turcoman carpets than of anything within the sphere of Mameluke art. These similarities, particularly conspicuous in the frequent use of rectangular double hooks, may perhaps be explained by referring to the import trade in carpets confirmed by ancient texts as well as by the numerous fragments of Anatolian carpets found at Fustāṭ;¹⁰ but one might in this connection also take account of the racial origin of the Mamelukes. On the other hand, some types of textiles known to be of Mameluke origin are distinguished by their highly conventionalized angular designs, and some of the motifs which are now connected with the art of Turkish nomads were no doubt already in vogue among the Bedouins in medieval time.

The fact that all girths of the particular type we are here discussing have been found in Egypt is an argument in favor of their being attributed to that country, but it is known from numerous parallels that such an argument is by no means decisive, and within most classes of textiles belonging to the Late Ayyubid and the Mameluke periods it is as yet impossible to distinguish between Egyptian and Syrian products. Braids and girths of Syrian manufacture, worked in various techniques (including tablet weaving) have in modern times been sold in the bazaars of Cairo,¹¹ and the "girths" from Homs (Ḥimṣ) sold there in the fourteenth century¹² may well have included saddle girths as well as belts (in Arabic the word *ḥizām* is a frequently used denomination for both).

Whatever may be the exact date of these saddle girths, and wherever they were made, they deserve our attention, not only on account of their aesthetic merits, but also because they quite likely belonged to the equipment of Egyptian cavalry.

¹⁰ C. J. Lamm, "The Marby Rug and Some Fragments of Carpets Found in Egypt," *Orientsällskapets årsbok*, 1937, pp. 51-130.

¹¹ Lehmann-Filhés, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹² L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire* (Paris, 1932), I, 79, citing al-Maḥrīzī.

EPITAPHS FROM AN ISFAHAN GRAVEYARD BY GEORGE C. MILES

DURING THE EXCAVATION OF GROUND FOR THE BUILDING OF A MUNICIPAL SLAUGHTER HOUSE on the northern edge of the city of Isfahan in 1935, a number of brick and stone epitaphs were accidentally turned up and subsequently handed over to the Department of Public Instruction. Mr. Myron Bement Smith, then resident in Isfahan, took the opportunity of photographing the most interesting of them, and he has been kind enough to entrust their publication to me. Although crude and homely, these tomb inscriptions are of some palaeographical interest and deserve publication as representatives of a humble folk art and an unassuming style of epigraphy hitherto unrecorded. The earlier ones, dating from the middle sixth H. (twelfth A.D.) century, are particularly interesting in the light of the change that was then taking place from Kufic to Neskhi in monumental inscriptions. There are eight bricks, in several different styles, all from this period (unfortunately only one of them is dated). The three remaining specimens which complete the collection are stones; two date from the eighth H. (fourteenth A.D.) century, and one from the tenth H. (sixteenth A.D.) century.

STYLE A

1. Brick, trilobe on rectangular base. Height, 40+ cm.; width, 47 cm. Six lines of incised degenerate Kufic. The first five lines are enclosed within a linear border following the contours of the trilobe (*Fig. 1*).

(١) هذا قبر (٢) محمود بن (٣) ابو عبد الله [sic] بن (٤) ابو
الكنيف المعروف (٥) [ب]الوراد العطار روز ستة (٦) [عش]ار ماه رجب
سنة خمس و خمسن [sic] وخمسبا [نة]

(1) This is the grave (2) of Mahmud b. (3) Abu Abdallah b. (4) Abu'l-Hanīf, known as (5) al-Warrād al-'Aṭṭār (the gardener, the perfumer) on the day of the six- (6) teenth of the month of Raḍjab, of the year five hundred and fifty-five (July 22, 1160 A.D.).¹

This inscription is a splendid example of the artless craft of a humble stone carver in a changing age. The character pretends to be Kufic, but actually betrays a pronounced predilection for the Neskhi. The latter style of writing had already come into use in monumental historical inscriptions,² and was of course the artisan's usual medium when he wrote with the pen. One suspects that he was putting on airs, so to speak, and was attempting to lend dignity to the epitaph by using the "classic" Kufic; unfortunately, he was no master of even a simple unadorned Kufic alphabet. His first two *dāl*'s are Kufic; the others (in 'abd, line 3, and in [bi]'l-warrād, line 5) are Neskhi, and as such are indistinguishable from *bā*, *rā*, *nūn*, or any of

¹ Mentioned in M. B. Smith, "Material for a Corpus of Early Iranian Islamic Architecture, III, Two Dated Seljuk Monuments at Sin (Isfahan)," *Ars Islamica*, VI

(1939), 5, footnote 41.

² Cf. my "Epigraphical Notice" to Smith's article cited in the footnote above, pp. 13-14.

the other letters similarly written in the Kufic alphabet. Several of the *mīm*'s are Neskhi and are written below the line as they would be in a cursive hand. Note the errors: an omitted *alif* in the third line, a tooth omitted in the word *khamsīn*, and the common mistake of abu for abi.

More interesting than the hybrid style of epigraphy is the mixture of Arabic and Persian in the recording of the date. Actually the entire phrase from the word *rūz*, on to the end, may be taken as Persian, although several of the words (the name of the month and the numbers) are Arabic. The use of the Persian words *rūz* and *māh* in place of the Arabic *yawm* and *shahr* is further evidence that this was a period of transition, not only in epigraphy but also in language.³ It is interesting to note that Mahmud, the deceased, was both gardener and perfumer: he grew and distilled his own attar of roses.

2. Same style as the preceding. The base is lacking. Height, 23+ cm.; width (across horizontal lobes), 26 cm. Four lines of incised Kufic, enclosed within a linear border following the contours of the trilobe (*Fig. 2*).

(١) هذا قبر (٢) ابو الحاء (٣) سن بن محمد بن ابو الوفاء
(٤) ركة [?] رحمه الله

(1) This is the grave (2) of Abu'l-Mahā- (3) sin b. Muhammad b. Abu'l-Wafā',
(4)may God have mercy upon him.

The date may perhaps have been inscribed on a fifth line across the base. In any case the epitaph is probably nearly contemporary with that of No. 1. The characters are somewhat more carefully executed and betray fewer Neskhi lapses. I have been unable to make out the first word of the fourth line. It might be the name of the grandfather whose kunya was Abu'l-Wafā'; or again it might be a verb governing the next word, which would then be *rahmat*, not *rahimahu*, but I can think of no suitable verb.

STYLE B

3. Fragmentary rectangular brick. Height, 27+ cm.; width, 37 cm. Three and a half lines of crudely incised degenerate Kufic (*Fig. 3*).

(١) [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم] (٢) هذا قبر محمد بن اسحق
(٣) بن محمد بن يحيى بن (٤) رحمه الله وثور قبره

(1) In the name of God, the Com[passionate, the Merciful], (2) this is the grave of Muhammad b. Ishāk (3) b. Muhammad b. Yaḥyā b. (4) may God have mercy upon him and illuminate his grave.

³ Professor E. Herzfeld has reminded me of a much earlier instance of the use of Persian in the writing of a date: to wit, in the Neskhi memorial inscription of the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār, son of Sultan al-Dawla, on one of the windows of the tačara of Darius at Persepolis. My rubbings of this inscription show: ... (وز بهمن من

ماه آبان سنة ثمان وثلثين واربعمائة

"On the day Bahman (second day) of the month of Abān (eighth month), year 438." Cf. E. Herzfeld, "Reisebericht," *Zeitschr. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, V (1926), 238, 249; and M. B. Smith-E. Herzfeld, "Imām Zāde Karrār at Buzūn; a Dated Seldjūq Ruin," *Arch. Mitteilungen aus Iran*, VII (1935), Hft. 2-3, 78, where mention is made of this inscription.

The characters are very crude and might actually be called Neskhi without points. Note the *dāl's*, final *yā*, and the method of joining the initial *mīm* to *hā* in the first Muhammad. In the second Muhammad the initial *mīm* is inconsistently relegated to the base line. The name of the great-great-grandfather is entirely enigmatic. It is perhaps Persian. I imagine that the epitaph is to be dated somewhat after the middle of the sixth century of the Hijrah.

STYLE C

4. Fragmentary rectangular brick. Height, 36+ cm.; width, 40 cm. Border in relief of conventional Kufic with detached floral ornament (top, part of right, and left preserved). Central inscription within mihrab frame, consisting of four and three-quarters lines of incised degenerate Kufic and Neskhi with occasional points (*Fig. 4*).

Border:

(١) م...م الله الرحمن الرحيم كُذِّ (٢) مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَيَبْقَى
(٣) وَجْهٌ رَبِّكَ ذُو [الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ]

All on the earth shall pass away, but the face of thy Lord shall abide resplendent with majesty and glory.—Koran, LV, 26-27.

Center:

(١) هذا قبر الشيخ الحافظ [?] (٢) المؤذن ابو (٣) سعد
بن ابي الفتح (٤) بن صد [?] بن سليمان (٥) بن داود [كاومرد]
[or كايومرد] ر.....

(1) This is the grave of the sheikh, the hafiz (?), (2) the muezzin, Abu (3) Sa'd b. Abi'l-Fath (4) b. Šamad (?) b. Suleiman (5) b. Dāwūd [or Gāyūmard], may [God] have mercy

From several points of view this is the most interesting epitaph of the collection. Epigraphically it is curious in that the artisan has used two entirely different types of character: for the Koranic passage a heavy, conventional Kufic accompanied by a rather cumbersome detached floral ornament; and for the epitaph proper in the center a sgraffito style of mixed Kufic and Neskhi, essentially more the latter than the former. The only truly Kufic letters are two of the *dāl's*, the *kāf* in the fifth line, and the peculiar *ṣād* (if it is a *ṣād*) in the fourth line. The remaining letters, including several *dāl's*, are Neskhi, some of them pointed, as for example the *nūn*, *fā*, and *tā* of line three, and the *yā* of line four. Some of the other letters may bear points, but the scarred condition of the brick makes it difficult to determine whether these marks are intentional or not.

No less interesting is the content of the inscription. Abu Sa'd, the deceased, was a sheikh and a muezzin; whether he was a hafiz or not must remain doubtful. The letter after the article in the last word of the first line is obscure, but I believe it is *ḍīm*, *hā*, or *khā*. The word

that most readily springs to mind, particularly after sheikh and before muezzin, is "hafiz," but the last letter is clearly *dāl* (or *dhāl*). Could it be that the carver ignorantly, or inadvertently, wrote *dhāl* for *zā*? If not, I do not know what to suggest, unless ḥāmid or ḥāfid, but neither would seem appropriate in the context. In respect to the name Ṣamad (the grandfather), I am very hesitant, but can suggest no other reading. The last name (line five), I believe is Dāwūd (with two *waw*'s), but it is not impossible that the proper reading is Gāyūmard, or Gāūmard. The *alif* and the following *waw* are closely crowded, but there may be room for a *yā* between the two letters. Both spellings are unconventional but acceptable forms of the Persian name Gayūmarth or Gayūmart.⁴ To judge by the position of the *mīm* of bism in the border, there was probably originally one more line in the central inscription, perhaps containing the date.

Although the Koranic text is a common one on gravestones, one would like to think that it was especially chosen as being appropriate for a muezzin, who from his minaret had occasion morning, noon, and evening to look into the clear heavens above Isfahan and behold the abiding face of his Lord, "resplendent with majesty and glory."

The date is probably the middle of the sixth century of the Hijrah. The mihrab form undoubtedly derives from the more elaborate and artistic gravestones with dates ranging from 503 to 545 H.⁵

STYLE D

5. Rectangular brick, with fragments lacking. Height, 51+ cm.; width, 28+ cm. Ten lines of heavy conventional Kufic in relief, with crude detached floral ornament (*Fig. 5*).

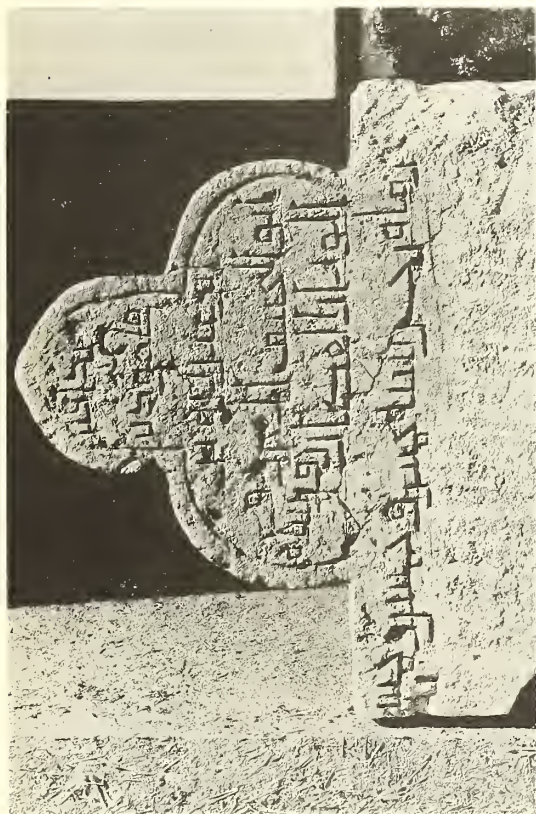
(١) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ (٢) كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذٰئِقَةٌ (٣) لَمَوْتٍ
 اَللّٰهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لِي (٤) لِعَبْدِكَ الْفَقِيْر [٥] لِي رَحْمَتِكَ (٦) السَّعِيْدِ
 اَبِي (٧) الْفَضْلِ بْنِ مَحْمَدٍ (٨) (٩)
 (١٠) رَحْمَةُ اللّٰهِ وَنُوْرٌ قَبْرِهٖ

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, (2) Every soul shall taste of (3) death (Koran, III, 182; XXI, 26; XXIX, 57). O God, forgive (4) thy servant, he who is in need (5) of thy compassion, (6) al-Sa'īd Abi-..... (7) al-Faḍl b. Mḥm. (8) (9) (10) may God have mercy upon him and illuminate his grave.

⁴ Usually, but erroneously, spelled Kayūmarth. For the history of the name, borne by the mythical first king, see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), pp. 108-9, s.v. Gaya-maretan.

⁵ My list of published specimens contains the following: 503 (*Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* [Cairo, 1937], VIII, No. 2935), 507 (Art Institute, Chicago, G. Wiet, *L'Exposition persane de 1931* [Cairo, 1933], Pl. X, at right), 529 (Museum of Fine Arts,

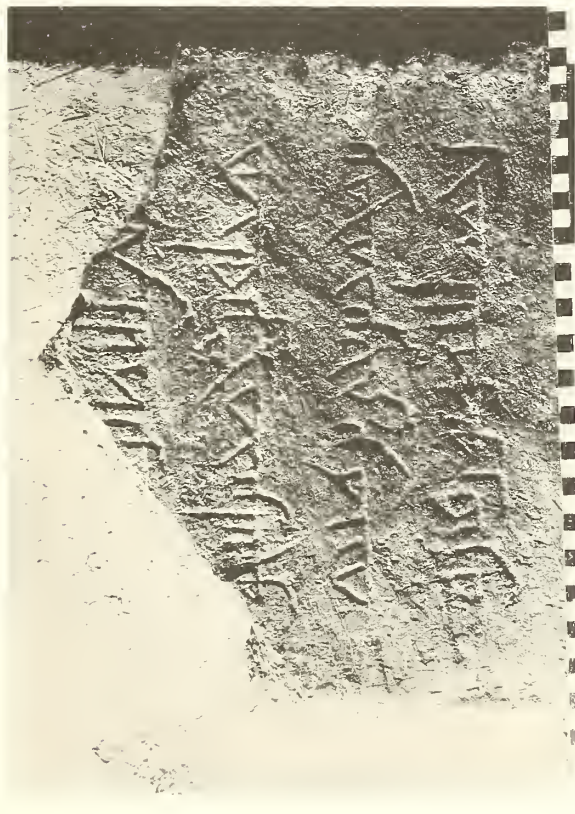
Boston, M. Aga-Oglu, "An Islamic Tombstone and Mihrāb of the Twelfth Century," *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts*, XXXI [1933], 42), 535 (Yazd, "in situ," A. U. Pope, "Architectural Ornament," *A Survey of Persian Art* [New York-London, 1938], V, Pl. 519 E), 545 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Wiet, *op. cit.*, Pl. X, at left). A few others, so far published only in the *Répertoire* and not illustrated, probably belong to this class.



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 541
FIG. 1—DATED SIXTEENTH RADJAB 555 H.



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 543
FIG. 2—MIDDLE OF SIXTH CENTURY H.



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 535
FIG. 3—SECOND HALF OF SIXTH CENTURY H.



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 532
FIG. 4—MIDDLE OF SIXTH CENTURY H.

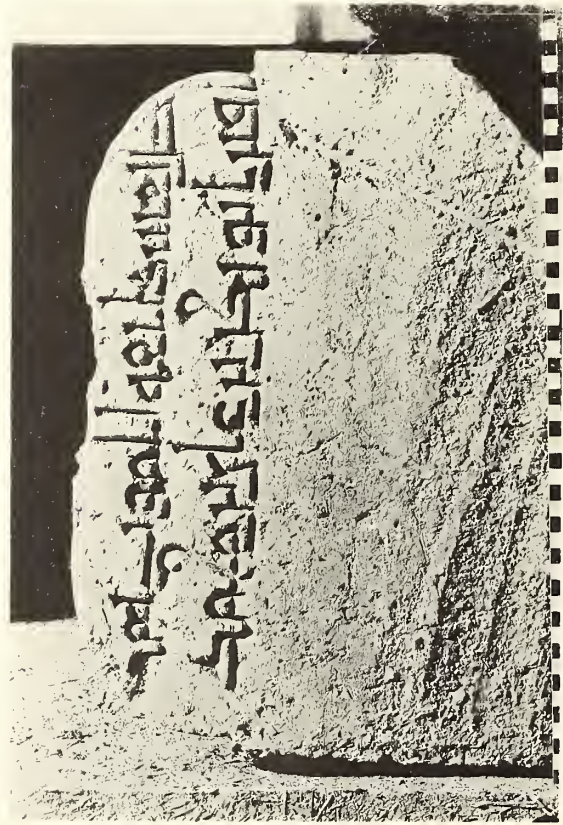
EPITAPHS FROM AN ISFAHAN GRAVEYARD



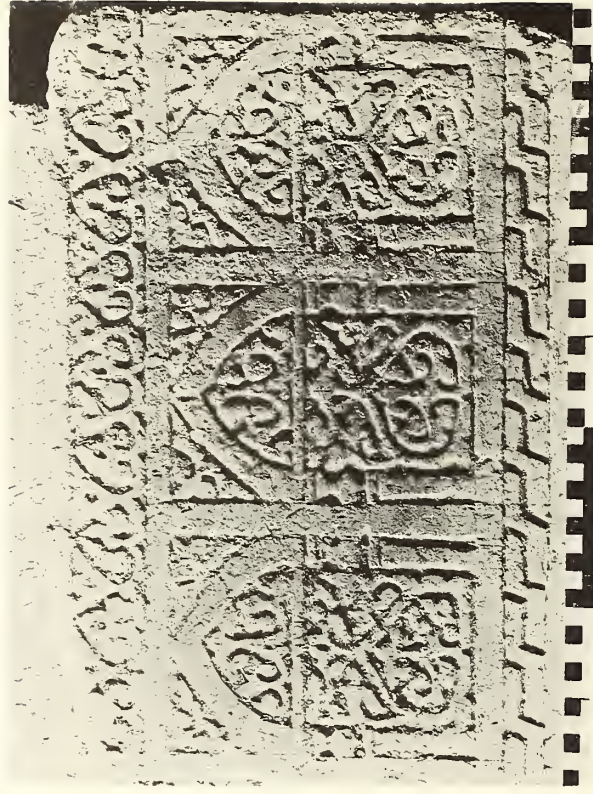
PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 537
FIG. 5—MIDDLE OF SIXTH CENTURY H.



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 531
FIG. 7—SIXTH CENTURY H.



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 533
FIG. 6—MIDDLE OF SIXTH CENTURY H.



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 530
FIG. 8—SIXTH CENTURY H.



FIG. 10—DIRHAM, 722 H. PRINCETON, G. C. MILES COLLECTION



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 540

FIG. 9—EPITAPH, ISFAHAN, EARLY EIGHTH CENTURY H.



FIG. 11—LUSTER TILE MIHRAB, 663 H.
BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

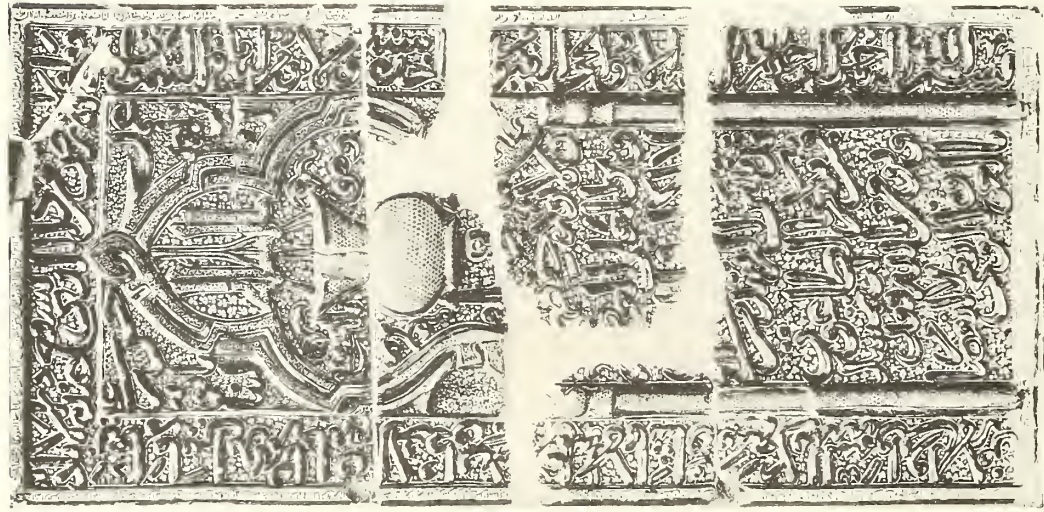
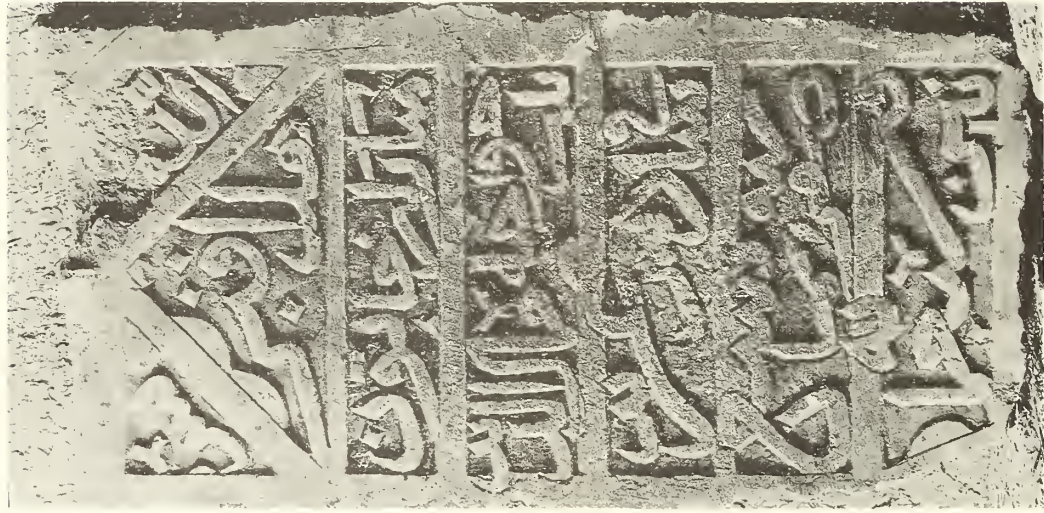


FIG. 12—LUSTER TILE MIHRAB, EIGHTH CENTURY H.
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 529
FIG. 13—EPITAPH, ISFAHAN
TWENTY-SIXTH ŠAFAR 789 H.



PHOTOGRAPH: M. B. SMITH, NEG. NO. 528
FIG. 14—EPITAPH, ISFAHAN, RABĪ' I 978 H.

Lines eight and nine, containing the rest of the genealogy of the deceased, are practically obliterated, and I have not been able to recover enough letters to attempt a restoration. The style of epigraphy is quite similar to that of the border of No. 4, above; and the epitaph is probably to be given the same approximate date. There is nothing remarkable in the inscription itself, and attention need only be called to the use of the second person pronouns.

STYLE E

6. Brick with rounded corners, perhaps originally a squat trilobe, rectangular base. Height, 30+ cm.; width, 44 cm. Two lines of neatly incised, unadorned Kufic (*Fig. 6*).

(١) كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ هَذَا (٢) اَقْبَرُ اَبُو بَكْرٍ بَنِ عَلِيٍّ بَنِ مُحَمَّدٍ

(1) Every soul shall taste of death (Koran, III, 182, XXI, 26; XXIX, 57), this (2) is the grave of Abu Bekr b. Ali b. Muhammad.

The Kufic of this inscription is difficult to date. The only remarkable features are the florid terminations of the medial *kāf* and *hā*, and the final *yā* of Ali. The shape of the latter suggests a date approximating that of the epitaphs so far considered (Nos. 1-5).

Two other bricks (*Figs. 7 and 8*), one with a fragmentary inscription in Kufic accompanied by elaborate detached floral ornaments, and the other, almost complete, bearing ornament only, are also to be dated in the sixth century of the Hijrah. The latter piece is interesting in that each of the panels represents a stucco mihrab, and the border at the base imitates the brickwork of Seljuk constructions.

STYLE F

7. Rectangular stone. Height, 49(+?) cm.; width, 23 cm. Thirteen lines of Neskhi in relief (*Fig. 9*).

The main portion of the epitaph is ingeniously enclosed within a frame formed by the word Allah with elongated verticals and base line, and a single word at the top written in the shape of an arch, the whole making a sort of mihrab. Above the frame are two lines (or they might be taken as one) which complete the sentence that composes the frame. The sentence begins with the arch, and reads:

فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ

Verily God will suffice thee against them, for He is the Hearer, the Knower.—Part of Koran, II, 131.

The epitaph proper:

(١) هذا قبر (٢) المرحوم سعيد (٣) ا
لمغفور ملك (٤) لصناع خواجه (٥) مرحوم [?] (٦)
(٧) نور الله قبره (٨) سنة [?] (٩) سبعا [?] (١٠)

(1) This is the grave (2) of the deceased, Sa'īd a- (3) l-maghfūr, king of (4) artisans khoja (5) deceased (?) (6) (7) may God illuminate his grave, (8) year (?) (9) seven hundr[ed] (?) (10).

The epigraphy is characteristic of the Mongol period. The date is, unfortunately, obliterated, but I think it is safe to attribute the stone to the early years of the eighth century of the Hijrah. The frame composed of the Koranic quotation cited above offers a most interesting comparison in the field of *Īl-Khānīd* numismatics. From 717 to 722 H.⁶ Abū Sa'īd, the *Īl-Khānīd* ruler, adopted a style of obverse on his coins in which the same verse is utilized in quite similar fashion to form a frame enclosing the principal conventional religious inscription.

Dr. R. Ettinghausen has been kind enough to call my attention to several examples of the use of this verse as an inner frame on Kashan luster tile mihrabs of the seventh and early eighth centuries H. They are: the innermost border of the Berlin Kashan mihrab, dated 623 H. (1226 A.D.);⁷ the inner frame of the Kum mausoleum mihrab, also in Berlin, dated 663 H. (1264 A.D. *Fig. 11*); the analogous frame on the Varāmīn mihrab on loan in the University Museum, Philadelphia, also dated 663 H. (1264 A.D.);⁸ and the inner frames of the undated mihrab in the *Djāmi' Zīr Dālān* in Nedjef which probably dates also from the seventh decade of the seventh century H.,⁹ and the mihrab to be ascribed to the eighth century in the Metropolitan Museum (*Fig. 12*). In these examples the letters of fa-sayakfihakum are most ingeniously manipulated to form the framing arch. As Dr. Ettinghausen suggests, these masterpieces were the prototype of the present tombstone, and probably of the design on the coins as well.¹⁰ The connecting link between the luster mihrabs and the tombstones would be monuments like the epitaph from the grave of the Imam Yaḥyā, dated 705 H. (1305 A.D.), now in the Hermitage, Leningrad: it has the shape of a luster mihrab, but its inscription definitely designates it as an epitaph ("ḥadhā 'l-ḵabr . . ."); this monument, however, does not use the above mentioned Koranic formula in a decorative way.¹¹

⁶ See Figure 10, a dirham of the year 722 H., struck at Lāhidjān (from my collection). The coin is enlarged slightly more than two diameters.

⁷ F. Sarre-E. Kühnel, "Zwei persische Gebetnischen aus lüstrierten Fliesen," *Berliner Museen*, XLIX (1928), 127, Fig. 2; cf. p. 131.

⁸ Possession of Mr. H. Kevorkian, New York; see E. Kühnel, "Dated Persian Lustred Pottery," *Eastern Art*, III (1931), 234, Fig. 14.

⁹ M. Aga-Oglu, "Fragments of a Thirteenth Century Mihrāb at Nedjef," *Ars Islamica*, II (1935), 128, and Fig. 1.

¹⁰ Two other instances of the use of the word fa-sayakfihakum as a decorative element are: (a) on a *ṭirāz* fragment with dedication to Harun al-Rashid in the Berlin Museum (E. Kühnel, "Tirāzstoffe der Abbassiden," *Der Islam*, XIV [1925], 85, Fig. 2); and (b) (simply fa-sayakfika) as the side of a square on a fragment of a cream and cobalt bowl from the excavations at Samarra (E. Herzfeld in F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra* [Berlin, 1925], p. 85, Pl. XVIII, 3, and Fig. 179).

¹¹ H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre, and R. Winderlich, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik* (Istanbul, 1935), Pl. IV.

STYLE G

8. Rectangular stone. Height, 37 cm.; width, 22 cm. Six lines of Neskhi in relief, each line being separated by a band, the line at the top within a triangle; two words at the top, right and left, in the angles outside the triangle (*Fig. 13*). At the top: الله يس Allah, Yā-Sīn (for the Sura by that name—XXXVI, of the Koran).

(١) هذا قبر (٢) مباركة خاتون (٣) بنت خواجه جمال الدين
(٤) في سادس عشرين (٥) صفر سنة تسع ثمان (٦) نين و سبعمائة

(1) This is the grave (2) of Mubāraka *Khātūn*, (3) daughter of khoja *Djamāl al-Dīn*, (4) on the twenty-sixth (5) of Ṣafar in the year nine, eight- (6) y, and seven hundred (26th Ṣafar, 789 = 18th March, 1387).

The epigraphy is characteristic of the late eighth century of the Hijrah. The use of points is adventitious; wherever there is no room for them they are omitted. The teeth of the letter *sīn* are sometimes present, sometimes absent. The crossbar of the *kāf* in the second line and the *waw* joined to *sīn* in the last line are characteristic.

At this time Isfahan was under the Muẓaffarids, the ruler Shah-Mansur.

STYLE H

9. Rectangular stone with rounded top. Height, 35 cm.; width, 23 cm. Neskhi in relief. In the center five lines separated by bands, the top line within an arch. Border inscription, right, top, and left (*Fig. 14*).

Center:

(١) صلوات الله (٢) وسلامه (٣) وفات حسن [?] بن
(٤) عباد الدين في شهر (٥) ربيع الاول سنة ٩٧٨

(1) The blessings of God (2) and his peace, (3) the death of Hasan (?) b. (4) 'Imād al-Dīn in the month (5) of Rabi' I, in the year 978 (August, 1570 A.D.).

Border (in Persian):

زمشرق تا بغرب کر امامست علی وآل او مارا تمامست
If from East to West an Imam there be,
Ali and Ali's line suffice to me.

The too complex and involved epigraphy and the Shiite sentiment are typically Safawid. Isfahan was at the date under the rule of Shah Tahmasp I.

EXCAVATIONS AT KHWARAZM, 1937-1938¹

BY HENRY FIELD AND EUGENE PROSTOV

THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA PRIOR TO THE ARAB CONQUEST HAS ALWAYS FORMED A DARK chapter in the annals of mankind. Obscure accounts in Chinese chronicles, vague and often conflicting references from classical historians, a few passages from the *Zend-Avesta* and from Sasanian literature, and local historical traditions from the writings of Narshakhī of Bokhara and al-Birūnī of Khwarazm have given us only a sketch of the complex political and cultural pattern of the region.²

During the past twenty years the Soviet government has sponsored extensive archaeological researches throughout the U.S.S.R.,³ including many expeditions in Soviet Turkestan.⁴

¹ The greater part of the information contained in this article was taken from a report in English by Professor S. P. Tolstov, Tashkent, forwarded through VOKS, Moscow, and the Embassy of the Soviet Socialist Republics, Washington, D. C., to Field Museum of Natural History. The remainder was excerpted by Eugene Prostov from another report by Tolstov, published in *Kratkie soobshcheniia o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniakh Instituta Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury* ("Brief Communications on Reports and Field Investigations of the Institute for the History of Material Culture"), Leningrad, 1939, No. 1. This publication was also forwarded to Field Museum from VOKS. All the material was received in September, 1939.

Under Prostov's supervision the Congressional Library system of transliteration has been used, with minor modifications, for all proper nouns in Russian.

The authors are grateful to Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, and Morelza Morrow for editorial assistance in the preparation of this report. The map (Fig. 1) was drawn at Field Museum by Peter Gerhard.

For previous reports on Soviet expeditions to Khwarazm see H. Field and E. Prostov, "Recent Archaeological Investigations in the Soviet Union," *Amer. Anthropol.*, n.s., XXXVIII (1936), No. 2, 288; "The Oriental Institute Archaeological Report on the Near East, U.S.S.R.," *Amer. Journ. Semitic Lang. and Lit.*, LVI (1939), No. 1, 111-12 (this report gives a brief summary of the 1937-38 excavations, including some details not contained in the present article); *ibid.*, No. 3; "Archaeological Investigations in Central Asia, 1917-37," *Ars Islamica*, V (1938), Pt. 2, 233-71; "Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.," *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.*, 42 (1938), No. 2, 295-98. Also M. Voyvodsky, "A Summary Report of a Khvarizm Expedi-

tion," *Bull. Amer. Inst. for Iran. Art and Archaeol.*, 5 (1938), No. 3, 235-45.

² Cf. W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1939); and V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam* ("The Regions of the World"), "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series," n.s., XI (1936).

³ In addition to publications by the authors listed in footnote 1 see also: H. Field and E. Prostov, "Archaeology in the Soviet Union," *Amer. Anthropol.*, XXXIX (1937), No. 3, 457-90; "Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.," *ibid.*, XL (1938), No. 4, 653-79; "The Oriental Institute Archaeological Report on the Near East, U.S.S.R.," *Amer. Journ. Semitic Lang. and Lit.*, LII (1936), No. 2, 138-41; *ibid.*, LIII (1937), No. 2, 123-24; *ibid.*, LIII (1937), No. 4, 275-76; *ibid.*, LV (1938), No. 1, 109-12; *ibid.*, LV (1938), No. 3, 333-36; *ibid.*, LVI (1939), No. 1, 110-12; *ibid.*, LVI (1939), No. 2, 172-74; *ibid.*, LVI (1939), No. 3, 322-24; "Recent Archaeological Discoveries Throughout the Soviet Union," *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.*, XLI (1937), No. 4, 618-20; *ibid.*, XLII (1938), No. 1, 146-47; *ibid.*, XLIII (1939), No. 2, 331-32; *ibid.*, XLIII (1939), No. 3, 507; *Antiquity* (1938), March, 99-101; (1938), Sept., 341-45. The reader is referred to articles in *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (=ESA) by A. M. Tallgren and others since 1926.

⁴ Under the direction of the following: N. I. Marr Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.; the Hermitage Museum; the Museum of Eastern Cultures; the Uzbekistan Committee for the Preservation and Study of Monuments of Material Culture (UZKOMSTARIS), Tashkent; the Tajik branch of the Academy of Sciences; the Historical Institute, Ashkabad; and other local archaeological institutions.

The majority of the work, however, has brought information only on periods of Muslim supremacy. Even Īakubovskii and Voevodskii, working at Kunya Urgench (1928–29) and Zamakhshar (1934), respectively, were able to add very little information on the more ancient eras of Khwarazmian history. Sachau (1873) and Inostrantsev (1911) were still considered authorities.

In 1937 the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IIMK since 1937, formerly GAIMK)⁵ of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. commissioned S. P. Tolstov as leader of an archaeological study of Khwarazm (*Fig. 1*). Other members of the expedition were A. I. Terenozhkin and I. J. Gul'fāmov, archaeologists; I. N. Tikhomirova, architect; E. A. Pol'fakov, photographer; and university and museum students.

In view of the experience of preceding expeditions, Tolstov planned his researches on the principle that it was necessary to look for pre-Muslim monuments and objects in the desert beyond the limits of the present cultural zone. He was also guided by historical references to the reduction of the occupational area of Khwarazm during the Muslim period, which suggested that the objects and monuments of ancient Khwarazm might be found beyond the limits of the present agricultural settlement. His choice of location was rewarded by the discovery in 1937 of pre-Muslim monuments on the right bank of the Amu Darya in the Kara-Kalpak A.S.S.R. During the following year extensive excavations were undertaken at one of the most important of these, Tāshik-Ḳal'a fortress. The zone of exploration was also extended into the interior of the Kizil Kum Desert. The expedition covered the area formed by the meeting of the Amu Darya and the Sultan-wiz-dagh—the district between Turt-Kul, the capital of the Kara-Kalpak A.S.S.R., and the southeastern spurs of the Sultan-wiz-dagh range.

In this region the cultural zone on the right bank of the Amu Darya stretches along the river in a narrow strip some 30 to 35 kilometers wide; beyond this the Kizil Kum Desert begins. In the interior of this desert a singular zone bearing the name "lands of ancient irrigation" covers about 25 kilometers. Here at every step appeared the most varied traces of ancient habitation. Scattered over expanses free from sand were fragments of pottery, coins, metal objects, statuettes, and other works of art. There were numerous traces of ancient canal beds, from mighty trunk lines (30 to 40 meters wide) to small distributing networks, which clearly portrayed the planning of the ancient fields. The ruins of castles, fortresses, and sometimes even of whole cities, whose names have not been preserved in any chronicles, stood in the open desert.

The oldest settlements were attributed to the late Bronze Age, near the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium before our era.

The culture was thought to be that of an agricultural population and to occupy a position between the pre-Scythian culture of the Bronze Age on the Volga, known as Srubnaia ("log-

⁵ IIMK = Institut Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury ("Institute for the History of Material Culture"); GAIMK = Gosudarstvennaia Akademiia Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury

("State Academy for the History of Material Culture"), Leningrad.

cabin") culture, and the Andronovo (Minussinsk) culture of the Bronze Age in Kazakstan and southern Siberia (cf. *ESA*). Of significance is the fact that the Bronze Age pottery of Khwarazm appeared to have nothing in common with the painted ware of Anau.

It is interesting to compare the archaeological dating of the ancient monuments with testimony of al-Bīrūnī, the great Khwarazmian historian and astronomer of the eleventh century, who placed the oldest Khwarazmian era at nine hundred to a thousand years before Alexander the Great, that is, in the second millennium B.C. The origin of the Khwarazmian state has also been attributed to the Scythian-Achaemenid period, from the middle through the second half of the first millennium B.C. Tolstov stated that the construction of the powerful network of irrigation canals discovered by his expedition dates from this period, otherwise represented only by poorly preserved remains of settlements with rough ceramics of Scythian type and by many Scythian bronze arrowheads of trihedral form.

Buildings of the late Hellenistic epoch, from the close of the first millennium B.C. through the first centuries of our era, were numerous. Among the most important of these were *Djanbas-Ḳal'a*, *Aiyaz-Ḳal'a* (No. 1 and No. 3), *Bāzār-Ḳal'a*, and *Koi-krilgan-Ḳal'a*.

The walls of the fortifications were splendidly preserved. The oldest of the fortresses, *Djanbas-Ḳal'a* (*Fig. 2*), was surrounded by a strong wall of large, square, unbaked bricks, preserved to a height of more than 10 meters (*Fig. 3*). Inside the wall, which averaged over 5 meters in thickness and which was thicker at the foundation, was a two-story passage that opened to the outside on two levels. The wall had long, narrow embrasures with sides flaring outward to enable the defenders to shoot to the base of the fortress wall. The embrasures, arranged in checkerboard fashion, were nowhere farther apart than 1.20 meters. The fortress appeared to be rectangular (200 by 170 meters) and had no towers. The corners were defended by a special system of inclined embrasures. Similar defenses grouped in pairs and divided by one straight embrasure opened out on both sides and were located along the wall at irregular intervals. The purpose of these embrasures was to permit an enfilade. To a certain degree they replaced wall towers.

The system of the defense of the gate was extremely interesting. The gate formed a large rectangular projection in the wall (20 by 50 meters); inside of this was a narrow passage which made two turns at a right angle. Embrasures inside this passage opened to all sides, enabling the defenders to shoot from every direction at any enemy who might break through the gate.

The inner yard (*Fig. 4*) of the fortress was covered with hillocks, remains of dwellings, and abundant heaps of potsherds, among which were a number of statuettes representing persons and animals (*Figs. 5-6*).

Other fortresses of this period were characterized by rectangular or square towers at corners and on the walls, which were built of large bricks. Each had a passage inside, tall, narrow embrasures, and a labyrinthine structure before the gate.

The plan of the *Koi-krilgan-Ḳal'a* fortress (*Fig. 7*) was distinctive, and the structure was thought to belong to the end of the Hellenistic period. It consisted of a small, octodecagonal citadel (14 meters in diameter) surrounded by a wall of the type mentioned above.

This fortress differed from that at *Djanbas-Ḳal'a* only in that its embrasures were placed

in one row. At a distance of 15 meters from the citadel the fortress was surrounded by a second, poorly preserved, round wall with nine towers.

Three fortresses, Bāzār-Ḳal'a, Kirk-kiz-Ḳal'a, and Toprak-Ḳal'a, were citadels of important towns.

The ruins of a large Hellenistic house in Aiyaz-Ḳal'a fortress No. 3 (*Fig. 8*) were preserved. This building (60 by 40 meters) was divided by intersecting corridors into four segments, which contained altogether about forty small rooms.⁶

The ceramics obtained from the ruins of the Hellenistic epoch belonged to two contemporaneous types. One, roughly handmade, resembled pottery from the tumuli of the Wu-suns of the Semirechensk region; the other, delicate and beautifully made on a foot-driven potter's wheel, consisted of goblet-like and conic bowls of the type of modern *pialas* and various forms of pitchers and earthenware vessels. This pottery, made of a finely strained, reddish clay, was covered with a red slip (*engobe*). This ware resembled that of Termez and of the Hellenistic-Roman cities on the northern coast of the Black Sea.

About a hundred terra-cotta statuettes were found, including small exquisitely made figures of men, women, horses, and horsemen. The clothing, represented in perfect detail, was reminiscent of the Iranian sculpture of the Achaemenid period, on the one hand, and of frescoes in the cave temples of Turkestan and Bamian, on the other. Several fragments of vessels bore effigies of persons and animals, including a warrior in an unusual helmet, lions, tigers, and mountain goats (*djairān*).

The art of ancient Khwarazm was original and highly developed and differed sharply from that of Sogdiana, Iran, and Gandhara.

Monuments of the fifth to the eighth century, extremely different in character from those of previous periods, were numerous. Between the Hellenistic period and that of the Sasanids and the Ephthalites important changes took place in all spheres of everyday life and culture. The occupational zone diminished sharply, and entire districts became desolate. The number of cities decreased, and the type of settlements changed. Strongly fortified, isolated estates surrounded by fields and gardens became the basic form of settlement.

The expedition discovered an oasis which had become desolate during the epoch of the Arab conquest. Within an area of 20 square kilometers more than sixty excellently preserved, fortified estates were found scattered on both sides of a large canal bed. These were the castles of Central Asia which Arab historians described in great numbers. Some were of considerable size (the average area within the inner wall being 100 by 100 meters), with strong, pisé walls and round towers at the corners. In the center of the courtyards or near one of the walls were huge dwelling towers, donjons, or keeps. Examples of such castles were Bārḳūt-Ḳal'a, in the center of the dead oasis; Uy-Ḳal'a, at its northern end; and Tāshik-Ḳal'a and Kum-baskan-Ḳal'a, at its southern end.

The other castles were considerably smaller. The inner courtyards ranged from 10 by 10

⁶ Cf. H. Field and E. Prostov, *Amer. Journ. Semitic Lang. and Lit.*, LVI (1939), No. 3, 322. The originally Arabic word Ḳal'a used in the name of the various sites

means, of course, "fortress," the latter designation is only added to characterize the nature of the various monuments to a non-Arabist.

meters to 60 by 60 meters, the average being 30 by 40 meters. These castles also had small donjons. A solid pisé base, in the shape of a truncated pyramid up to 4 meters high, was surmounted by platforms on which stood the outer and inner walls of the dwelling quarters. Detailed examination of the keep in castle No. 4 indicated that in the small castles this structure served primarily as a storage place for food and water, in case of siege. Fourteen huge earthenware water jars (*khum*, compare *Fig. 9*) were found in one of the rooms of this keep. The owners probably lived in these donjons only during a siege; in normal times their dwellings were below in the castle yard.

Tolstov concluded that these small castles were the residences of an agricultural population living in large patriarchal families, corresponding to the estates described in the Arab and Persian literature of the Middle Ages and designated by the name *ked*.

The large castles were of an entirely different character. Tāshik-Ḳal'a, attributed by Tolstov to the close of the seventh or to the beginning of the eighth century of our era, is described as a model of this type (*Fig. 10*).

The rectangular yard, with an area of more than 10,000 square meters, was surrounded by a strong pisé-built wall with round pisé towers on the corners. A second, slightly thinner, structure formed the original wall of the courtyard. This inner structure was square and had originally towers, which were doubtless removed during replanning. Adjacent to all its sides and completely surrounding it were narrow, oblong rooms with their ends opening toward the inner yard. They were covered by a vaulted ceiling and were usually partitioned into front and back sections. This type of building was very similar to the madrasas and caravanserais of a later period. Some of the rooms in Tāshik-Ḳal'a castle were apparently used for living quarters; there were brick stove-couches along the walls, and open brick hearths stood in the middle of the rooms. Other rooms held large earthenware storage vessels, and in one room there were a number of querns.

The huge keep (*Fig. 11*), dominating the castle and visible from afar, was apparently the dwelling place of the owner. Its solid, pisé base rose 6.5 meters above the level of the inner yard and 8 meters above that of the outer yard (*Fig. 12*).

The well-preserved walls of the living quarters in the keep, built of unbaked bricks (35 by 35 by 9 centimeters), loomed over the castle. The exterior walls were decorated with a row of monumental, engaged columns, which were topped by semicircular arches and embellished by rhomboidal, false embrasures. These decorations have their prototypes on such monuments as Rabāt-i Malik and Kyz-Ḳal'a, in ancient Merv.

The interior of the keep was divided into a number of rooms. The entrance was guarded by what appeared to be a servant's chamber. On the right and left of the entrance hall round-arched doors led to the northern and western rooms. The large room on the west was apparently the reception hall of the landlord. A wide, brick stove-couch ran along the walls. At the far end of the room was a spacious niche, evidently surmounted at one time by a half-cupola or an arch. The floor had been covered by an ornamented woolen carpet, parts of which remained intact. Along the walls were fragments of a frieze consisting of a floral design modeled in clay.

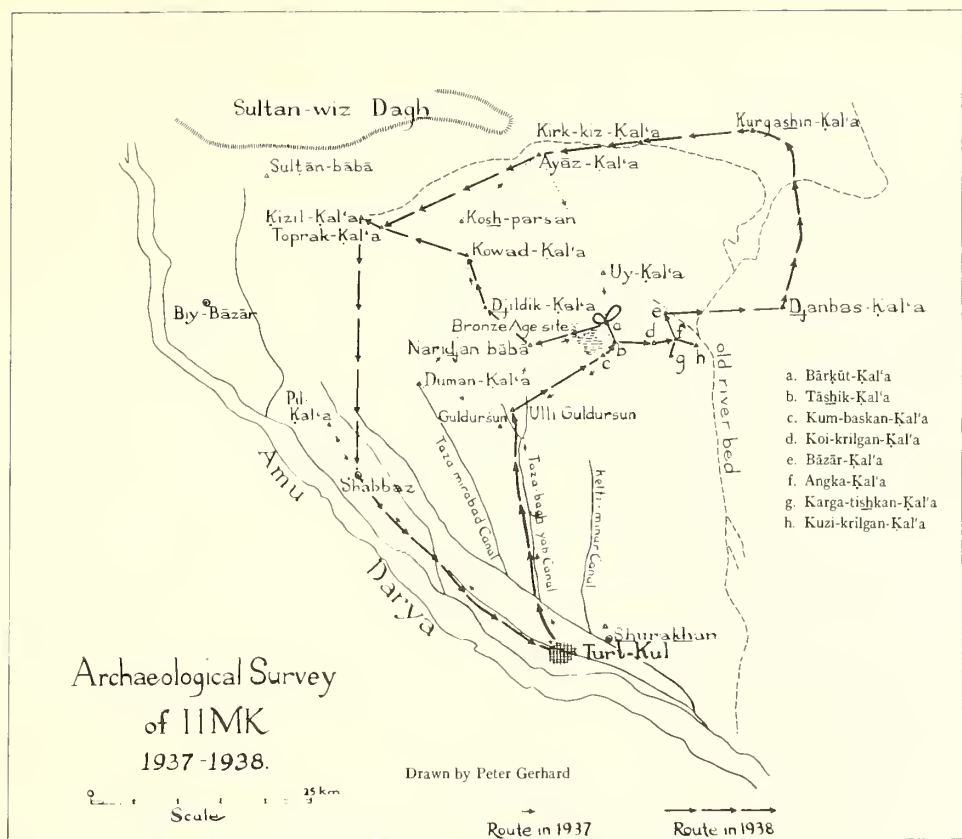


FIG. 1—ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF IIMK, 1937-1938

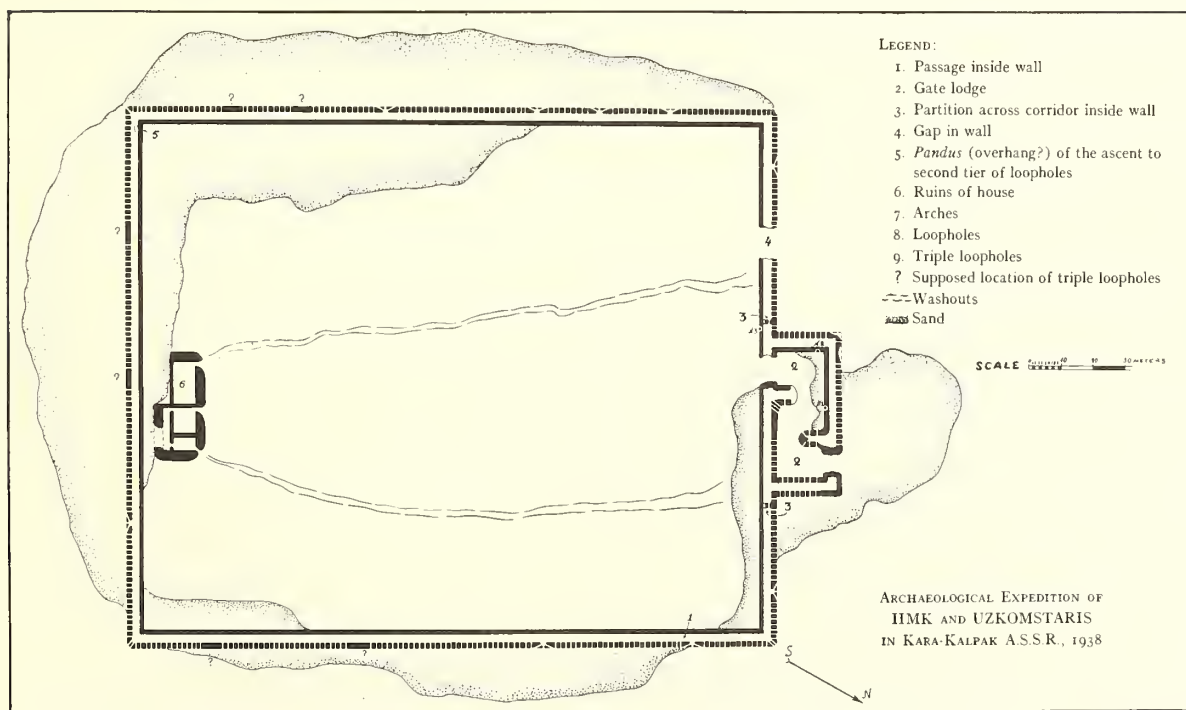


FIG. 2—DJANBAS-KAL'A



FIG. 3—GATE, DJANBAS-QAL'A



FIG. 4—WITHIN THE GATE, DJANBAS-QAL'A

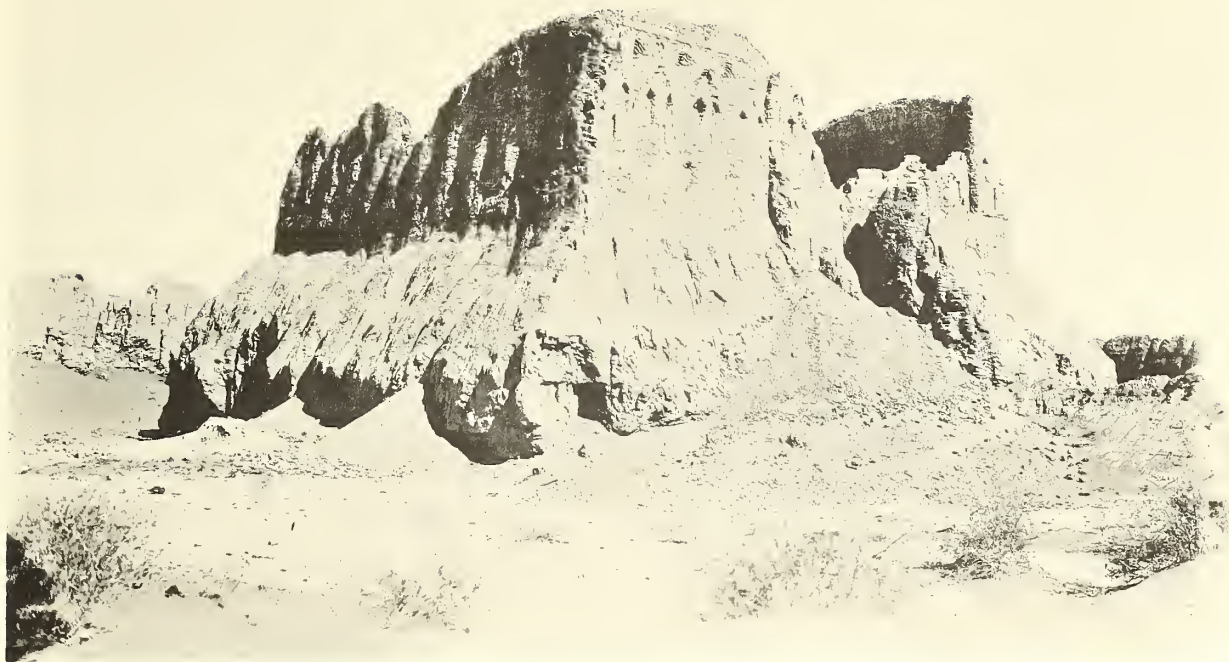
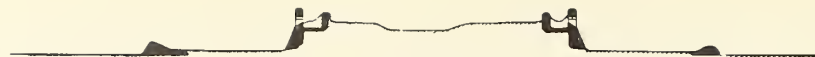


FIG. 11—VIEW OF KEEP. TĀSHIK-ĶAL'A



FIG. 15—CASTLE NO. 7 (FORTIFIED PEASANT ESTATE) NEAR
BĀRĶŪT-ĶAL'A. SEVENTH-EIGHTH CENTURIES A.D.



Profile along A — B

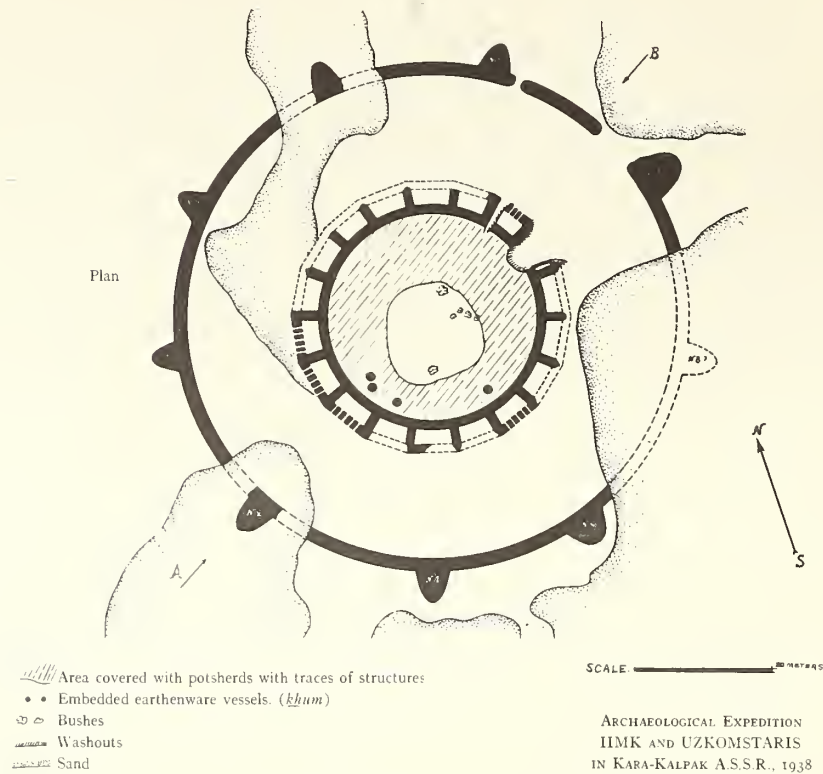


FIG. 7—KOI-KRILGAN-KAL'A

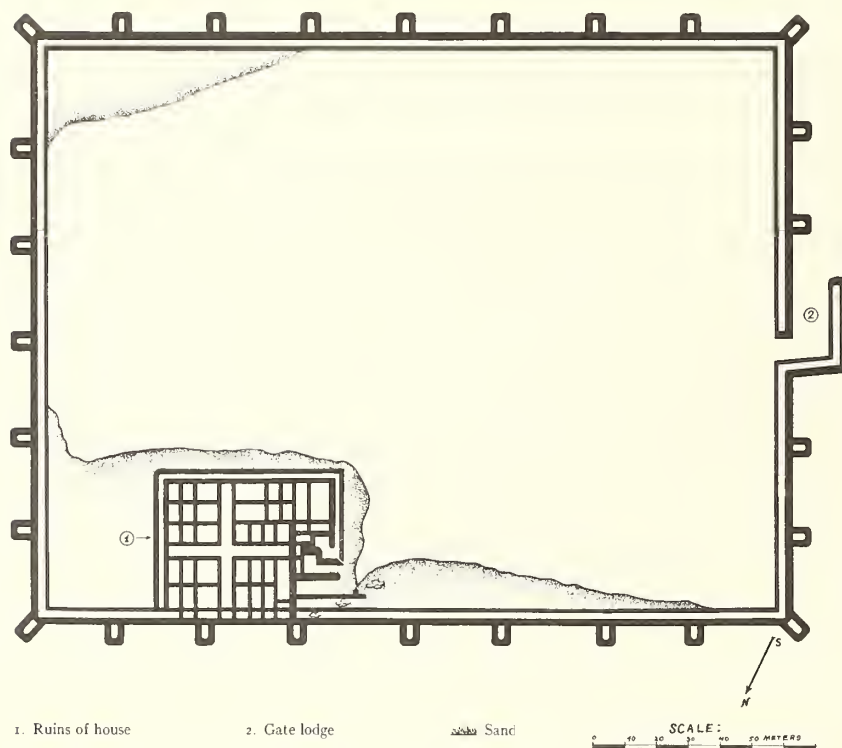
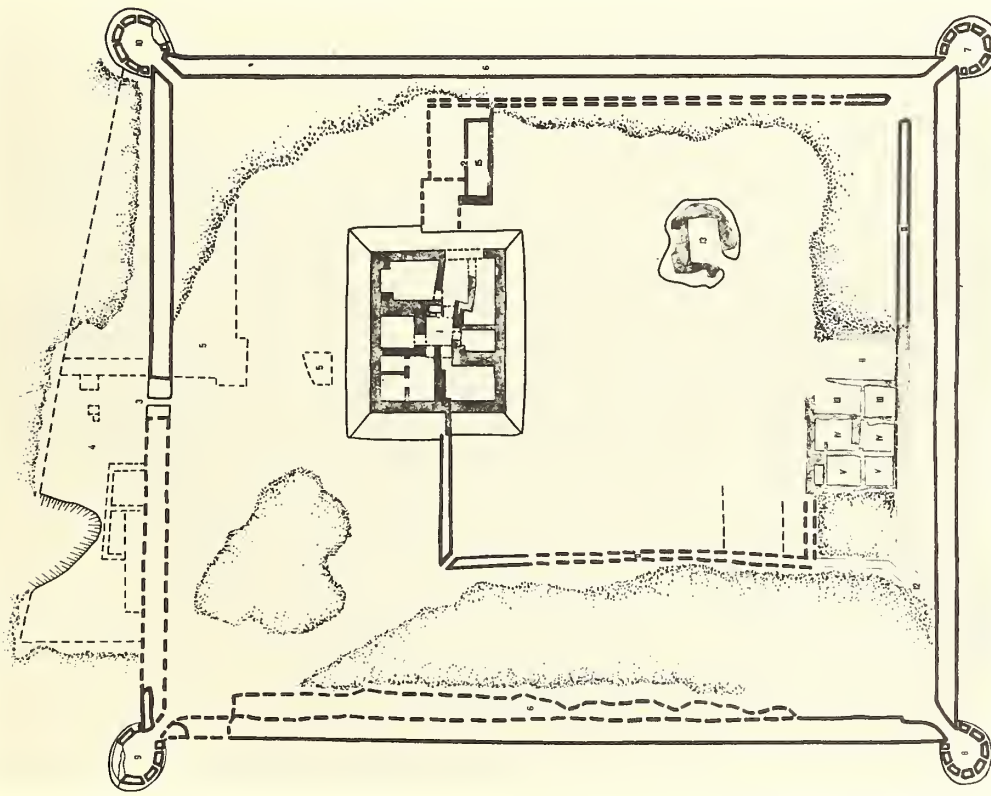


FIG. 8—AYAZ-KAL'A, NO. 3

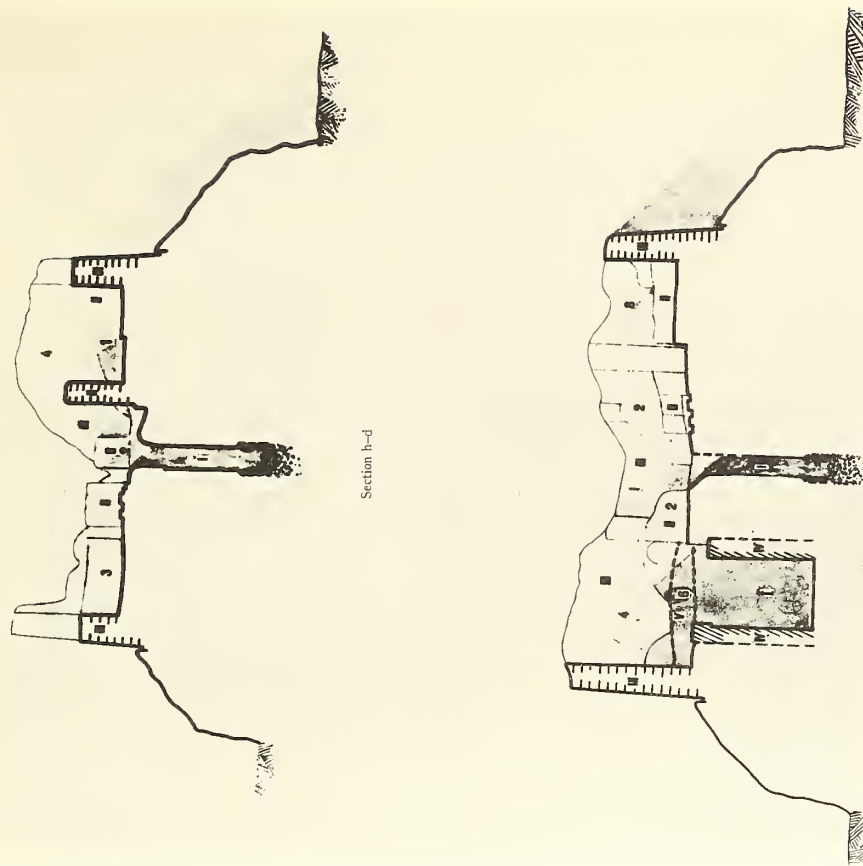


1. Inhabited donjon
2. Structures at entrance to donjon
3. Castle gate
4. Structures outside outer wall
5. Buildings in outer courtyard
6. Outer walls
7. Northern
8. Eastern
9. Southern
10. Western
11. Inner walls
12. Remains of tower of inner wall
13. A detached building in inner courtyard
14. Group of houses near northeastern wall from II to V
15. Corridor

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION OF
IIMK AND UZKOMSTARS
IN KARA-KALPAK A.S.S.R., 1938

SCALE:
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METERS

FIG. 10—TASHIK-KAL'A



Section a-c

SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METERS

- I. Vertical shaft
II. Remains of inner walls
III. Remains of outer walls
IV. Walls of lower building
V. Floors of Room No. 6 removed

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPEDITION
IIMK, 1938

FIG. 12—CROSS SECTIONS OF KEEP. TASHIK-KAL'A



FIG. 5—FEMALE STATUETTE, FIRST CENTURY A.D.
DJANBAS-KAL'A



FIG. 6—CLAY RELIEF, FIRST CENTURY A.D., DJANBAS-KAL'A



FIG. 9—PITHOS FROM ROOM NO. 7. DONJON, TĀSHIK-KAL'A

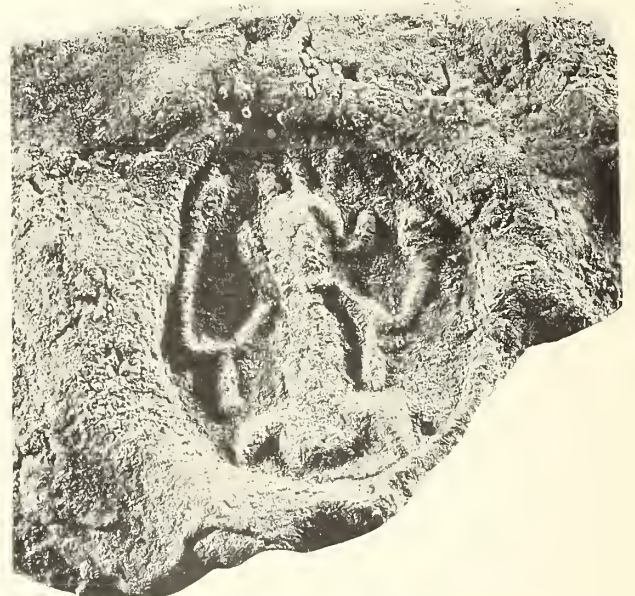


FIG. 16—SEAL IMPRESSION OF FOUR-HANDED DEITY
TĀSHIK-KAL'A



FIG. 13—ROOM NO. 6 OF DONJON, TĀSHIK-KAL'A



FIG. 14—ROOM OF LOWER CASTLE AFTER EXCAVATION
TĀSHIK-KAL'A



A



B

FIGS. 17A AND B—KHWARAZMIAN COIN WITH GRECO-KHWARAZMIAN INSCRIPTION. THIRD CENTURY A.D.



A



B

FIGS. 18A AND B—COIN OF KHWARAZMIAN SHAH, SHĀWUSHFAR ATTRIBUTED TO MIDDLE OF EIGHTH CENTURY A.D.



FIG. 19



FIG. 20



FIGS. 19-21—KHWARAZMIAN SILVER BOWLS FROM HERMITAGE MUSEUM AND BRITISH MUSEUM



FIG. 22—KHWARAZMIAN PLATE DEPICTING SIEGE OF FORTRESS. HERMITAGE MUSEUM

The room situated in the northern corner combined the furnishings of a living room (a stove-couch) and housekeeping quarters (brick bins in one corner). It was crowded with various types and sizes of vessels. Near the outer wall was a garbage pit filled with fragments of bones, wood, rags, broken pottery, and other rubbish.

The third arch, located directly across the entrance, led to the interior rooms through a central room. In the middle of this room was a well, which led down through the entire base of the keep and supplied water in time of siege. In addition to the entrance arch there were four arched doorways leading from this room. One, the left, was a storeroom for fuel. On the right, over a low ramp, was the living room of the owner of the castle, with its wide stove-couch against the wall and a hearth in the center. Parts of a clay frieze, decorated with alternating eight-rayed rosettes and five-petaled palmettos, adorned the walls (*Fig. 13*). Tolstov assumed that there was a connection between this antique motif and the ornamentation of the Achaemenid epoch. Another door led from the central room into a second household storeroom, occupying the eastern corner of the tower. Along its walls stood ten or more clay vessels (*Fig. 9*), each large enough to accommodate a man with ease. The last door opened into a living room situated opposite the entrance. From there a completely preserved arched doorway led to a room in the southern corner of the tower, which apparently served as a bakery; on the brick paving in one corner were scattered a large number of small, flat cakes.

Excavations of the base of this keep revealed an older building (fifth or sixth century) entirely immured in the pisé mass and remarkably well preserved (*Fig. 14*). The rooms (4.5 meters high) were intact, but were filled with clay. A brick parapet with embrasures surrounded the flat roof of the building. This ancient castle was quite different both in floor plan and in structure from the keep which was built around it. The keep had no base; the brick walls rose directly from the ground. The floor was only slightly raised.

Comparing archaeological and historical data on the history of Khwarazmian fortifications and taking into account particularly the testimony of al-Ṭabarī concerning the civil war during the epoch of conquest by Ẹutaiba ibn Muslim (*ca.* 712 A.D.), Tolstov concluded that the transfer to dwellings of a castle type with tall, solid bases and great attention to their fortification were connected with the growth of the feudal system and the antifeudal struggle of the peasant communities which were being enslaved.

Excavation of Tāshik-Ẹal'a and of other castles (*Fig. 15*) yielded abundant material characterizing the economy, every-day life, art, culture, and religion of ancient Khwarazm. The presence of numerous seeds and animal bones indicated that the Khwarazmians cultivated millet, wheat, beans, cotton, melons, cucumbers, peaches, apricots, and other fruit trees and that they bred horses, large and small-horned cattle, camels, sheep, goats, and hogs. Pottery, beads, buckles, signet rings, fragments of textiles, objects of felt, leather, and wood (including a well-preserved wooden comb), and iron arrowheads gave a many-sided picture of the material culture of Khwarazm during the epoch of the Arab conquest. Among art objects the most important were large round and oval impressions on clay. One of these impressions was a representation of a horseman shooting with a bow at a mountain goat. In execution and in

feeling this portrait was equal to the best Sasanian works of art. Two similar impressions bore the image of a four-armed deity (*Fig. 16*) and were classified unquestionably with the cycle of Indo-Buddhist idols found in many parts of Asia.

Of particular significance was the presence among art objects of a fragmentary statuette of a rhinoceros, excavated from the ruins surrounding Castle No. 36. It was attributed to a period around the end of the eighth century. This object was said to be executed with such realism and anatomical detail that the sculptor was accredited with first-hand knowledge of the rhinoceros.⁷ This object and the representations of four-armed deities contribute additional evidence to support the theory regarding ancient cultural relations between Khwarazm and India at an early period.

The primary results of the expedition were the revelations provided by some three hundred pre-Muslim coins, with one exception all of copper, collected at the various sites. Apart from five Kushan coins the entire collection⁸ belonged to a type already known through accidental finds, which had for many decades been objects of discussion and disagreement among numismatists. Thomas, who in 1880 interpreted coins of this type for the first time, considered them Indo-Parthian; Drouin, Hovers, and Cunningham ascribed them to the Central-Asiatic Ephthalites of the fifth to the seventh century; Markov attributed them to a later, Kushan period.

The majority of the coins found by Tolstov's expedition represented a period from the third to the close of the eighth century A.D. and were minted by the kings of one dynasty—the Khwarazmian Aphrigides. Al-Bīrūnī listed twenty-two kings of this dynasty as ruling from the beginning of the fourth century to the tenth century. On the obverse of each coin is the head of a king in a rich crown; on the reverse, the figure of a horseman surrounded by a legend and, to the left of this, an inscription, incorporating 𐭠 , the family cattle brand (*tamghā*) of the Aphrigides. The motif of the horseman holding a quiver in his right hand and a whip in his extended left hand is common on Bactrian and Indo-Sakan coins, but not later than the beginning of the Christian era. The preservation of this motif on Khwarazmian coins as late as the eighth century seemed to Tolstov to constitute a plausible indication of the origin from which Khwarazmian culture evolved.

The older coins of the Aphrigides, attributed to the third or fourth century, bore inscriptions in two languages. At the top of these coins the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ was inscribed in considerably corrupted Greek letters, executed in a technique typical of Greco-Bactrian and Parthian coins. At the bottom ran an inscription in the letters of the local alphabet. The coins of later periods, probably beginning with the fifth century, did not bear the Greek legend.

⁷ In view of the history of "textbook" reproductions of the rhinoceros, including those of Chinese artists, Pompeian sculptors, and Albrecht Dürer (cf. B. Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures*, Field Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthrop. Ser. XIII (1914), Pt. I, Nos. 2 and 3) one hesitates to

accept without additional evidence the theory that the Khwarazmian artist worked from life.

⁸ Described in *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* ("Bull. Ancient History"), No. 4, 1938.

The *tamghā* on the coins of the Aphrigides was similar, on the one hand, to that on Sogdian coins, and on the other, to the Kushan *tamghā*.⁹ The most recent coins bore a tiny Arabic inscription on the reverse side, placed just above the horse's croup. The inscription consisted of the word الغضل, al-Faḍl, or جعفر, Dja'far, the names of Arab vice-regents of Khurasan, who ruled in Khwarazm at the close of the eighth century.

It seems that considerable weight may be attached to Tolstov's argument that the finding of such a large number of these coins in Khwarazm almost entirely unassociated with coins of other regions establishes their origin.

If, then, these coins are Khwarazmian, it may be said on the basis of their local inscriptions that the ancient Khwarazmian alphabet has been discovered. It is described as relatively close to the Sogdian alphabet but rather more archaic than the latter, being nearer than the Sogdian to their common Aramaic prototype (*Fig. 17a and b*).

Tolstov and his colleagues succeeded in deciphering several words of these inscriptions, which contained the title of the kings in the form of an Aramaic ideogram MR'MLK' ("lord," "king") and the names of several kings listed by al-Bīrūnī. Among these the most indisputable was the name of King Shāwushfar (شوشفر, S'wspr) (*Fig. 18a and b*), who, according to Chinese chronicles and al-Bīrūnī's account, ruled in Khwarazm in the middle of the eighth century.

Tolstov reported that examination of the paleographic peculiarities of the Khwarazmian written language¹⁰ as it appeared on the coins led him to advance the theory that five silver bowls in the Leningrad Hermitage, one in the Central Museum of Kazak, and one in the British Museum were of Khwarazmian origin (*Figs. 19-21*). His theory received confirmation in the discovery at Tāshik-Ḳal'a of the impressions on clay of four-armed deities; on the bases of three of these bowls appeared a four-armed deity, probably one of the Bodhisattvas, holding in one of the upper hands the image of the sun, in the other that of the moon, and in one of the lower hands a scepter.

Tolstov's collaborator and pupil, A. I. Terenozhkin, suggested Khwarazmian origin for an eighth mysterious silver dish, now in the Hermitage collection, bearing the representation of a besieged fortress (*Fig. 22*). He based his suggestion on the identity of the architectural type of the fortress portrayed on the dish with that of pre-Muslim castles of Khwarazm, described here. When Tolstov examined the original dish in Leningrad he confirmed Terenozhkin's suggestion on the grounds of technical similarities between this and the seven other dishes.

The coins and the impressions on clay provided interesting information on ancient Khwarazmian armor. The horsemen portrayed wore on their right sides a rigid quiver, widened at the bottom, and on their left a limp, stocking-like bow case. This type of bow gear is not found

⁹ In Southwestern Asia a close connection appears between property marks (*simāt* or *wusūm*), tattooed designs, and early South Arabian scripts. In addition, some camel brands from northeastern Africa are similar to *tamghās* from the Caucasus. This subject merits a

special study (H. F.).

¹⁰ Although Tolstov did not make this clear, there must be some epigraphic inscriptions on the bowls similar to the inscriptions on the coins described here.

in Sasanian art, and is entirely unlike that used by Scythian nomads, according to Tolstov. It is said, however, to be the predominating type of bow weapon represented on monuments of Sogdian and eastern Turkestan and to have been typical also of ancient Turki armor in the Minussinsk region. This type of armor was also in use among the Mongol hordes of Genghis Khan, among the Polovtsi of eastern Europe and, during a more recent period, among southwestern tribes in China. The area of its use, therefore, extended on the north from the Caspian and Aral Seas to the steppes of Minussinsk and on the south across the Tien Shan range into southwestern China.

Tolstov therefore reached the conclusion that the focal point for cultural relations between Khwarazm and the far limits of Central Asia was the kingdom of Kushan. In addition to evidence furnished by the coins, the silver bowls, the impressions on clay, the statuette of the rhinoceros, and the costumes portrayed on figurines, he cites Chinese historical sources as attributing Kushanian origin to the dynasty ruling in Khwarazm at the time of the Arab conquest and mentions that Khwarazm played an important role in events which brought about the destruction of the Greco-Bactrian state and the formation of the Kushan kingdom. He makes no more than a cursory attempt, however, to unravel the Yuechih-Kushan-Massagete tangle.¹¹

Tolstov rejects the theory that Central Asia belonged to the "unique 'Iranian' culture" of the Sasanids and expresses the belief that Central Asia was an independent cultural region, connected early in our era with the southeast, first through the kingdom of the Kushans and later through that of the Ephthalites, and in more ancient times with the northwest, that is, eastern Europe.

He states that the work on pre-Muslim Khwarazm has only begun and that its continuation on a large scale is planned for the near future.

¹¹ Although McGovern (*op. cit.*, footnote 2) doubtless gives the best perspective to date on this subject, he adds little if anything to the already existing knowledge of ancient Khwarazm.

"A History of the U.S.S.R. from the Earliest Times to the Formation of the Ancient Russian State" is now in preparation as Vol. 1 of a seven-volume history by thirty-two authors, including many IIMK collaborators. M. I. Artamonov, V. I. Ravdonikas, and A. ĪŪ. ĪĀku-bovskiĭ will be the editors. This will be the first history of the Soviet Union in which new archaeological data have been extensively used. Part I will include the Paleolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze Ages. Part II will deal with the history of Transcaucasia, Central Asia, and the northern Black Sea region during the classical period. Special sections will be devoted to Central Asia and Transcaucasia during the conquests of Alexander and under Seleucid and Roman rule, and to the history of the Huns and of tribes in the northern part of eastern Europe and Siberia during the first millennium B.C. and

the beginning of the first millennium A.D. Part III will treat the history of the Goths, Alans, Huns, Ephthalites, Zhuan Zhuans, Turks, Bulgarians, Avars, and other nomads of the steppe belt of Siberia and Europe, and also the history of Transcaucasia and Central Asia during the Sasanian period. In addition the origin, social organization, and culture of the Slavs will be discussed in the light of archaeological and historical sources. Part IV will contain the history of the U.S.S.R. from the seventh to tenth centuries A.D., including the Arab conquest of Transcaucasia and Central Asia and the subsequent formation of independent feudal states in this area. This part will also contain the history of the Khazar state and its tributary tribes and peoples of the southern half of eastern Europe, and a discussion of the culture of eastern Slavic and Finnish tribes at the time of the formation of the ancient Russian state, and a historical outline of the tribes and peoples of Central Asia, Siberia, and the Far East during the second half of the first millennium A.D.

NOTES

A SASANIAN STUCCO PLAQUE IN THE WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

The Worcester Art Museum has recently acquired a fragment of a stucco revetment¹ representing an ibex (*Fig. 1*). The plaque, which must originally have been square in shape, has suffered considerable damage; the hind quarters and two of the animal's legs are missing, but the remains of the right foreleg indicate that it was raised. The ibex, with its flying scarf, is shown in profile, although the large, protruding eye and curved horns are represented in front view. In the field are several deeply cut trilobate leaves resembling the oak-leaf foliage of the stucco reliefs found at Ctesiphon.² Presumably the original composition of which our plaque formed a part was one of heraldically paired ibexes passant and flanking a central Tree of Life motif. The stucco, which, in its present state, is of a granular texture, was undoubtedly polychromed, and although all of the colors have disappeared there are traces of a creamy white slip on the animal's body.

During the past few years a small number of stuccoes of Iranian origin have come on the market, but the actual provenance of most of these commercially excavated pieces is obscure. The dealer from whom the Worcester Museum purchased its fragment states that it was found in the vicinity of Varāmīn, although he prefers not "to guarantee the authenticity of the statement." Our piece may be compared with an almost identical fragment, of about the same

size, acquired some five or six years ago by the Musée du Louvre,³ which, however, is less well preserved, since the lower portion of the plaque, including the legs of the animal, is missing. The provenance of the Louvre plaque is also problematical, although Salles pointed out that it corresponds more nearly to the figural panels found at Damghan⁴ by Schmidt than to those excavated at Kish by Watelin. Furthermore, he quotes André Godard to the effect that similar pieces had been found at Varāmīn. It is interesting to note that Pope⁵ mentioned "a series of fragments commercially excavated at Khuzistan" as being "on the Paris market," of which one represents "a moufflon passant wearing the pativ and surrounded by oak foliage like that used at Ctesiphon." This may possibly refer to the Worcester plaque.

In view of the absence of documentation, the dating of stuccoes of this type remains conjectural, and as yet the stylistic development of this branch of Sasanian art has not been satisfactorily investigated. Because, however, of the analogies of the animal representations to those of the hunting scenes in the large grotto at Ṭāk-i Bustān they are generally assigned to the same period as that of the sculptured reliefs. But even these have been the subject of recent discussion as regards their date, Dr. Herzfeld⁶ maintaining the older dating, which places them in the reign of Khusrau II (590–628 A.D.), against the argu-

¹ Height, $11\frac{3}{8}$ inches; length, $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches; greatest thickness, $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

² Cf. A. U. Pope, "Sasanian Stucco, B. Figural." *A Survey of Persian Art* (New York–London, 1938), IV Pl. 172C.

³ See G. Salles, "Bas-reliefs en stuc acquis par le Musée du Louvre," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, VIII (1934), 107 ff., Pl. XXXIII.

⁴ Cf., Pope, *op. cit.*, Pl. 176B.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 643–45.

⁶ "Khusrau Parwēz und der Ṭāq i Vastān," *Arch. Mitteil. aus Iran*, IX (1938), 91–158.

ments of Kurt Erdmann⁷ for the period of Pērōz (457/59–84).

PERRY B. COTT

A NOTE ON THE CEMETERY OF THE ABBASID
CALIPHS OF CAIRO AND THE SHRINE OF
SAIYIDA NAFĪSA

In the cemetery of Saiyida Nafīsa in Cairo there is a mausoleum which contains the tombs of the Abbasid caliphs of Cairo. Although little visited, it is of artistic importance and historical interest—as is the whole site. The mausoleum, which stands behind the modern mosque of Saiyida Nafīsa, is well known, but it is difficult to find out anything about the surroundings.¹

The vast area known as the cemetery of Saiyida Nafīsa, or the *Qarāfa al-kubrā* ("the great cemetery"), lies between the site of Fustāt on the southwest, and the Muḳaṭṭam hills on the east, and to the north is the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Immediately to the west is the site of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ (by the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn), dating from about 860 A.D., and south of that al-ʿAskar, built about 751 A.D. To the northeast of the mosque

of Ibn Ṭūlūn stands the Citadel on a spur of the Muḳaṭṭam, and farther to the north, about a mile away, is the city of al-Ḳāhira, founded in 969 A.D., by the Fatimids.

The area was used as a burial place from very early times. At first it was probably limited to a small portion of the present site, and there were houses on part of what is now the cemetery. We know that the Imam *Shāfiʿī* and Saiyida Nafīsa lived there. Saiyida Nafīsa, the great granddaughter of Hasan, grandson of the Prophet, was considered a holy woman. It has been related that the Imam *Shāfiʿī* used to go to her house to collect traditions of the Prophet and that after his death his body was taken there in order that she might recite the prayers for the dead over it. She died in Ramadan 208 H. (824 A.D.), and the site of her tomb, as well as that of the Imam not far away, soon became a holy place. Eventually a shrine (*mashhad*) was erected over it, and the surrounding area took its name from this. Many people chose to be buried near her tomb.

When, four centuries later, some members of the Abbasid family escaped the conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols (1258 A.D.), the Mameluke Baibars realized their political value and brought a representative of the line to Cairo. He and his descendants, known as the second dynasty of the Abbasid caliphs, signed their masters' fatwās and gave countenance to the rulers' actions. They were technically the center of Islam and, as such, were valuable pawns, as Sultan Selim perceived when he conquered Egypt in 1517 A.D. and took with him to Constantinople the last of the line, who, after having bequeathed his title and rights to the Sultan of Turkey, was allowed to return to Egypt, where he died in 945 H. (1538 A.D.).

In 640 H. (1242 A.D.) Abū Nadla, the ambassador of the first dynasty of the Abbasid caliphs, was buried in the cemetery behind the

⁷ "Das Datum des Tāḳ-i Bustān," *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), 79 ff.

¹ The following bibliography has been kindly given to me by K. A. C. Creswell: Maḳrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853–54 A.D.]), II, 242. Al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* (Cairo, 1927), IV, 119 (on the margin of the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*). Al-Djabartī, *Merveilles biographiques et historiques* (Cairo, 1889), III, 126 and 241–42. E. J. Rogers, "Rapport sur le lieu de sépulture des khalifes abbassides," *Procès verbaux du comité de conservation* . . . , 1884, pp. 21–28. Ali Pasha Mubārak, *Khīṭaṭ al-djādida* (Cairo, 1888), V, 134. M. van Berchem, "Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum," *Mém. mission archaeol. française du Caire*, XIX (1894), 63–64. M. Herz, "Les Sépultures abbassides," *Procès verbaux du comité de conservation* . . . , 1910, pp. 131–41. K. A. C. Creswell, "Brief Chronology," *Bull. instit. français archaeol. orientale*, XVI (1919), 76 (mentions only the mausoleum). R. Strothmann, "Al-Saiyida Nafīsa," *Encycl. Islām*, III (1934), 826–27.



FIG. 1—STUCCO PLAQUE WITH RAM, SASANIAN
WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

shrine of Saiyida Nafīsa. Presumably, when his masters' successors came to Cairo some twenty years later, in 1261 A.D., they liked the place of sepulture of their predecessors' ambassador so much that they built the mausoleum there about 1261-64 A.D. Abū Nadla's inscription of 640 H. (1242 A.D.) on a large cenotaph is the earliest date in the mausoleum. The next date is in the inscription of a child who died in 664 H. (1265 A.D.); it seems unlikely that Abū Nadla would have built such a tomb for himself, as it is far too imposing for a man of his position; nor is it very likely that the caliphs would have taken over someone else's mausoleum for themselves. The style of the mausoleum is so similar to that of *Shadjar al-Durr*, dating from 1250 A.D., that it is almost certainly contemporary; the caliphs probably built their mausoleum so as to include Abū Nadla's tomb, or else moved the latter.

This mausoleum (*Figs. 3-6*) is well known and, as it is illustrated in most books on Cairo, I shall not describe it here. But little has been written about the entire site and the buildings that have been replaced by the modern mosque of Saiyida Nafīsa.²

² Creswell, to whom I owe the photographs in this article, provided me with further literary information. Rogers Bey, who found the mausoleum, published the inscriptions of the cenotaphs (Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-28). He seems never to have seen the south wall of the cemetery, though, of course, he knew the old mosque and *mashhad*. By going through the reports of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe*, I obtained a great deal of miscellaneous information about the site, mainly concerned with credits for repairing various parts of it and with inquiries as to who were the owners to the rights over it. The plan here reproduced (*Fig. 1*) is from Herz (*op. cit.*, pp. 131-41). Through the plan is incomplete in that it does not have the wall to the north of the mosque, Herz obviously must have seen the old mosque and shrine before the fire which destroyed the mosque about 1892. In the subsequent rebuilding by the Khedive Abbas, the shrine was destroyed. Unfortunately, I could not find any further

Our starting point (*Figs. 1-2*) is the mausoleum of the Abbasids' for, though it has no historical inscriptions, it gives us a series of dates on the eight cenotaphs which are those of the various individuals buried in the vault beneath (*Fig. 5*); not all of them are members of the Abbasid family, for a son of Baibars, and Abū Nadla are buried here.

The approach is from the *Shārī' al-Ashraf*, the great street from the north leading to the cemeteries. To the right are the ruins of al-'Askar (the pre-Ṭūlūnid suburb). The entrance is under an attractive but late stone gateway beside a *sabīl* of not much interest and through a long passage which leads between somewhat heterogeneous buildings up to the modern mosque of Saiyida Nafīsa. These buildings are of great interest for, though apparently none of them is older than the seventeenth century, they are on the site of the dependencies of the *mashhad* of Abbasid days; to the left is the house of the hereditary sheikh. The present sheikh is a descendant of the sheikhs of the Abbasid period who were confirmed in their tenure by Sultan Selim. The little square opposite the mosque has suffered much from reconstruction and bears no relation to what was there in early times, but in spite of ruin, fire, and reconstruction there is a remarkable continuity about this place.

We have no knowledge of what the tomb of Saiyida Nafīsa of 824 A.D., was like, but we know that it was restored in 553 H. (1158 A.D.) by al-Ḥāfiẓ and that Maḳrīzī saw an inscription here in the name of Mustanṣir of the year 482 H. (1080 A.D.). Al-Djabartī said that the mausoleum was repaired in 1173 H. (1759-60 A.D.) and that the tomb as well as the mosque was repaired, presumably at the same date. The buildings that Herz saw must have been late Turkish

record of what was there before the fire, though it is almost inconceivable that there does not exist somewhere an account of these buildings.

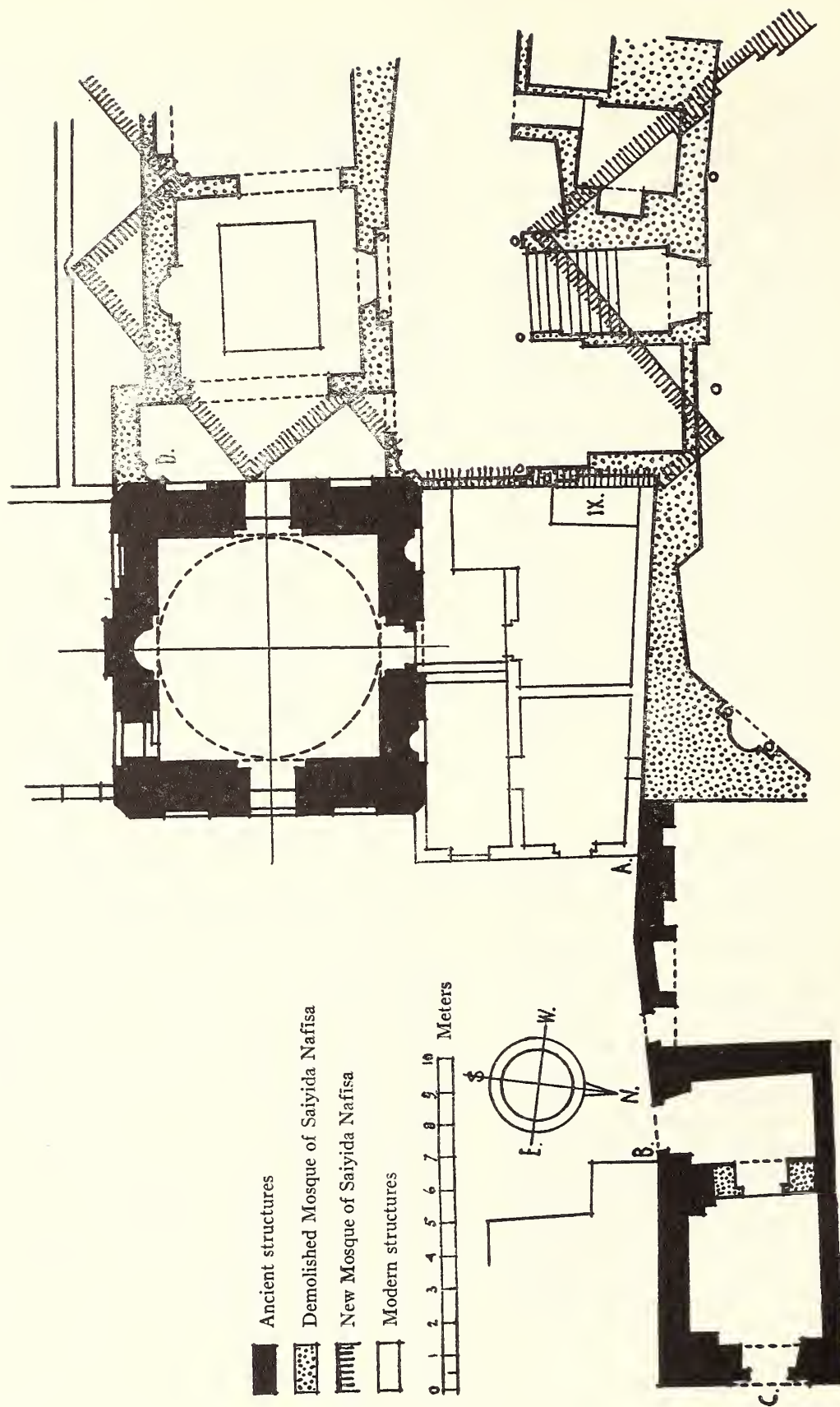


FIG. 1—TOMB OF THE ABBASID CALIPHS IN CAIRO
(Plan made by Max Herz, 1910)

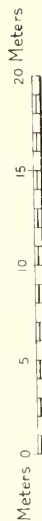
THE CEMETERY OF THE ABBASID CALIPHS OF CAIRO IN THE KARĀFA AL-KUBRĀ (SAIYIDA NAFĪSA)

REFERENCE

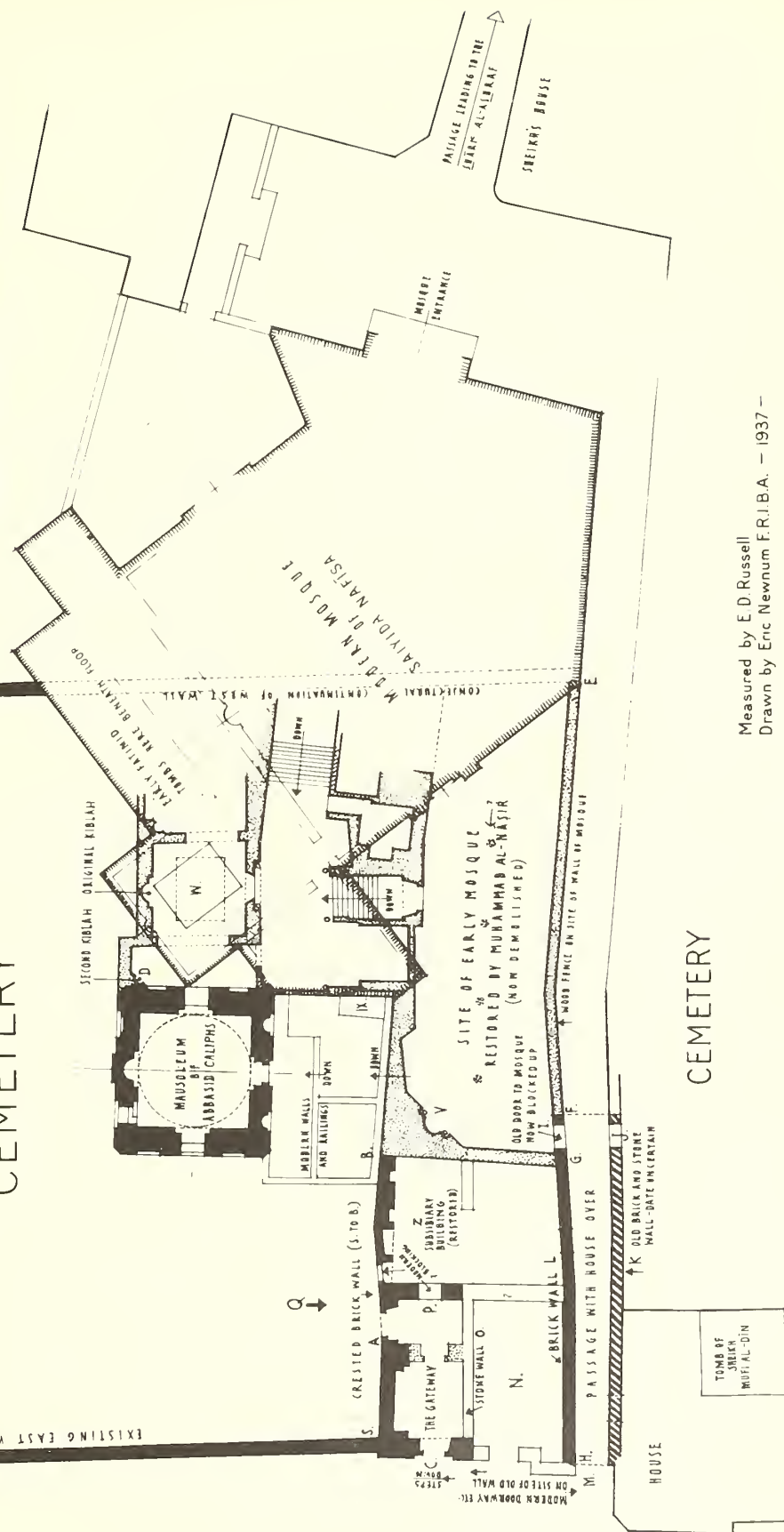
- EXISTING 13TH CENT. WALLS
- EARLY MOSQUE OF SAIYIDA NAFĪSA (NOW DEMOLISHED)
- OUTLINE OF MODERN MOSQUE OF SAIYIDA NAFĪSA

THIS PLAN IS DIAGRAMMATIC AND DOES NOT
PURPORT TO BE ACCURATE IN ALL RESPECTS

SCALE

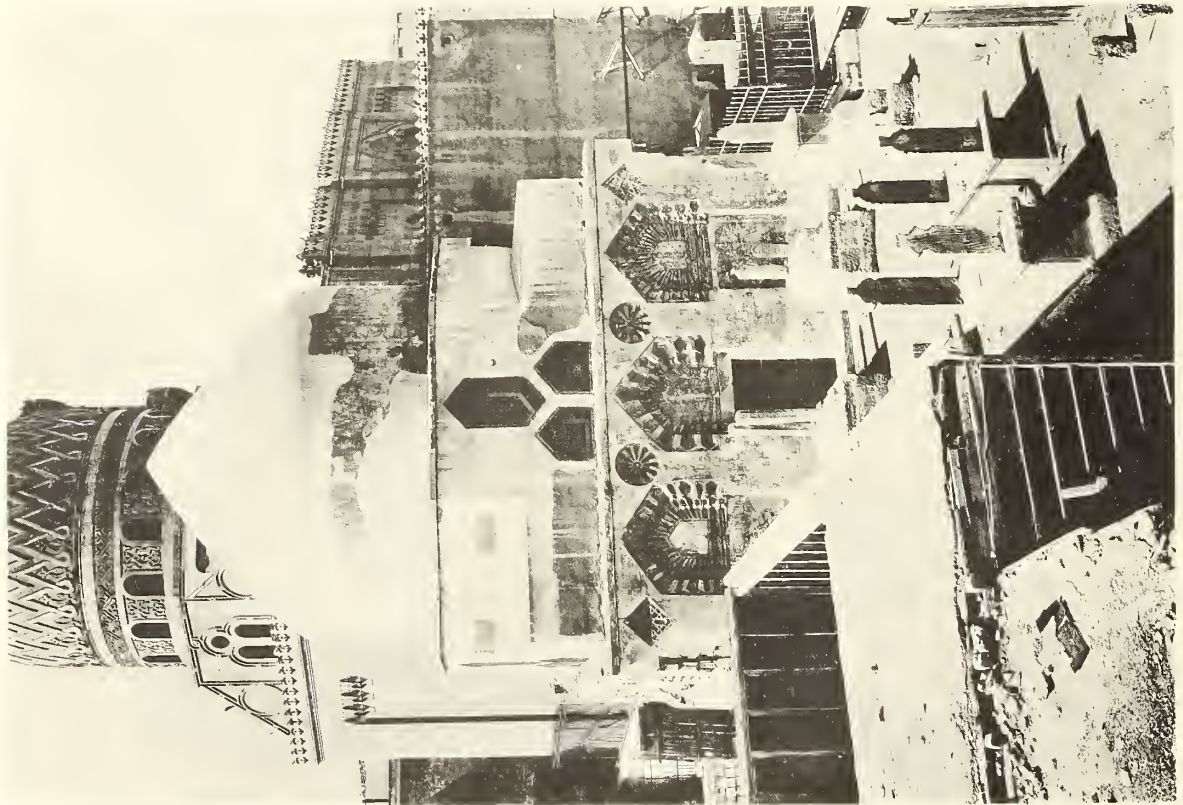


CEMETERY

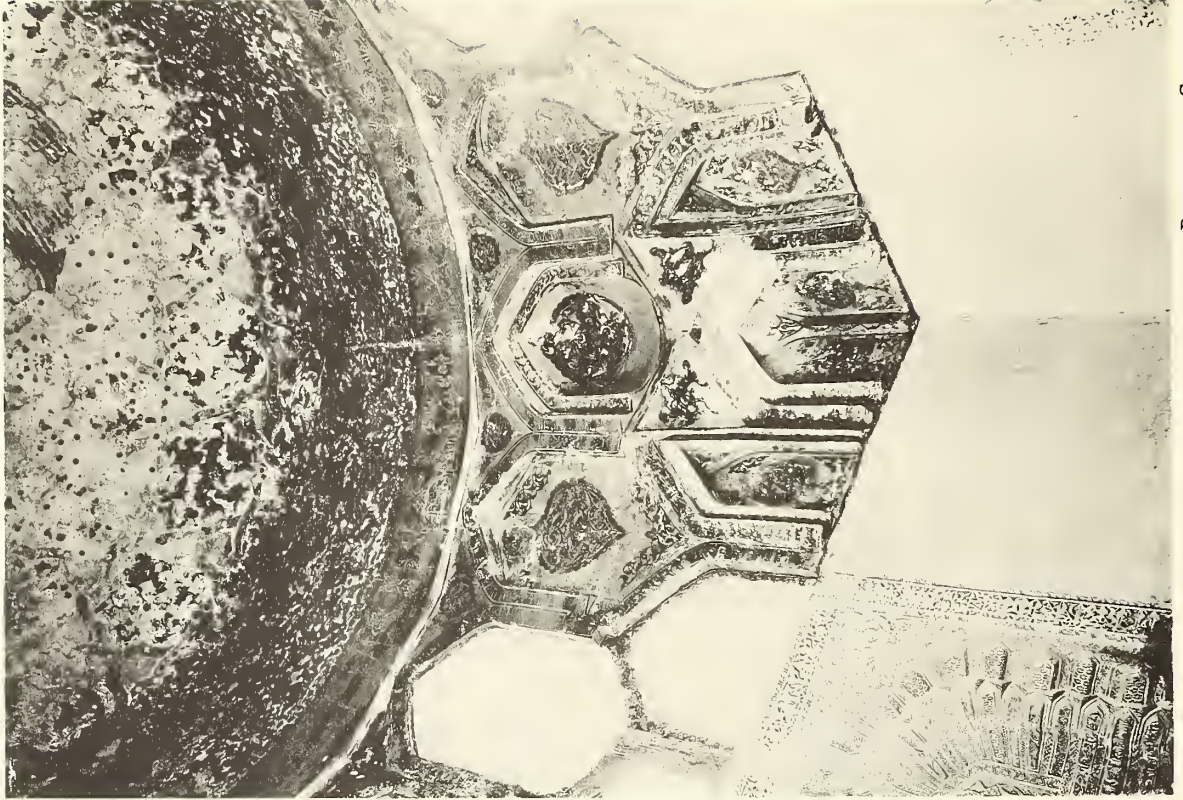


Measured by E. D. Russell
Drawn by Eric Newnum F.R.I.B.A. — 1937 —

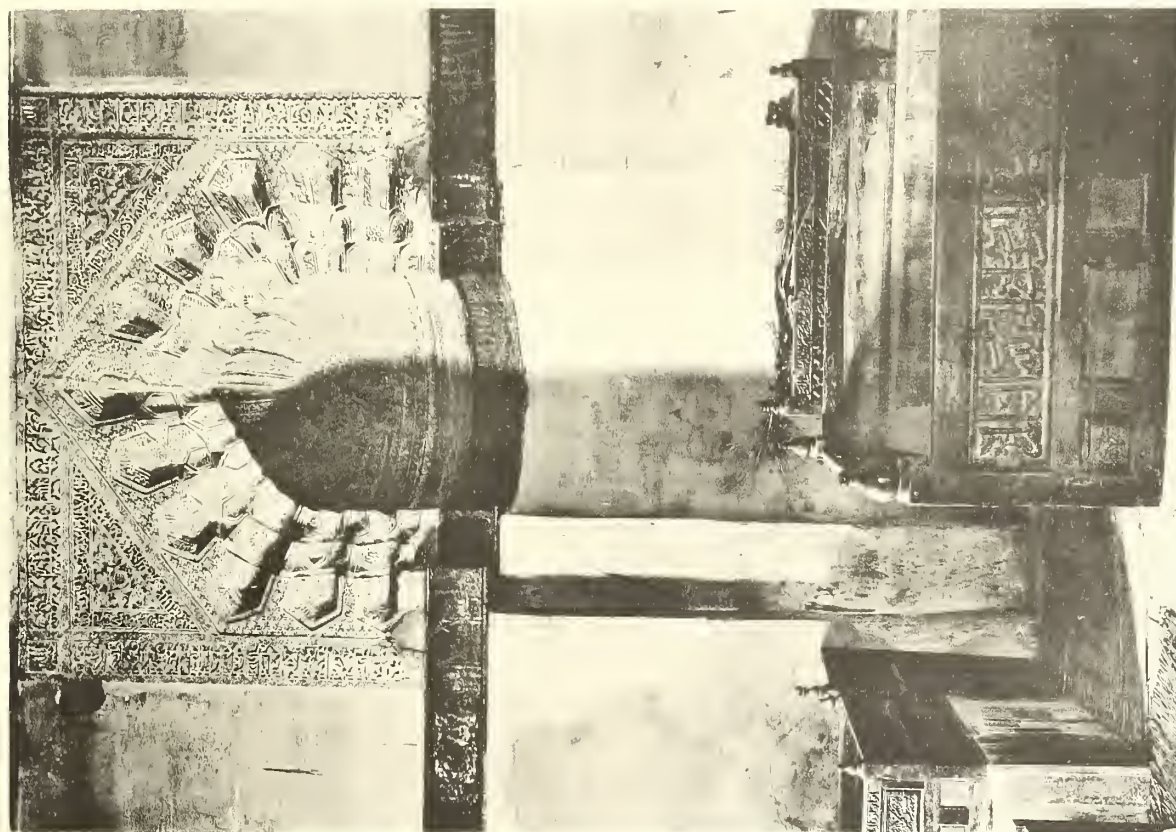
FIG. 2



PHOTOGRAPH: CRESWELL
FIG. 3—MAUSOLEUM OF ABBASID CALIPHS. VIEW FROM EAST

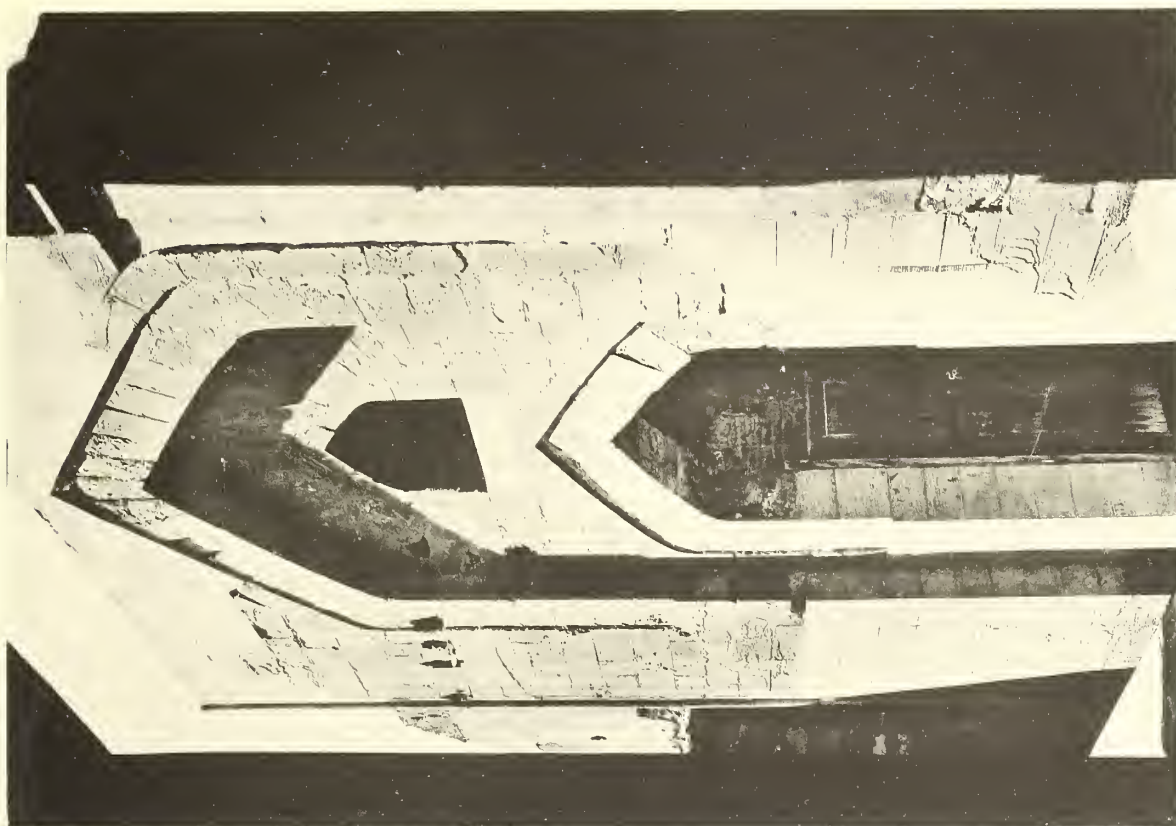


PHOTOGRAPH: CRESWELL
FIG. 4—DOME AND PENDENTIVES OF MAUSOLEUM



PHOTOGRAPH: CRESWELL

FIG. 5—KIBLAH-WALL AND TABŪTS



PHOTOGRAPH: CRESWELL

FIG. 6—MONUMENTAL DOOR OF CALIPH'S CEMETERY (FROM EAST)

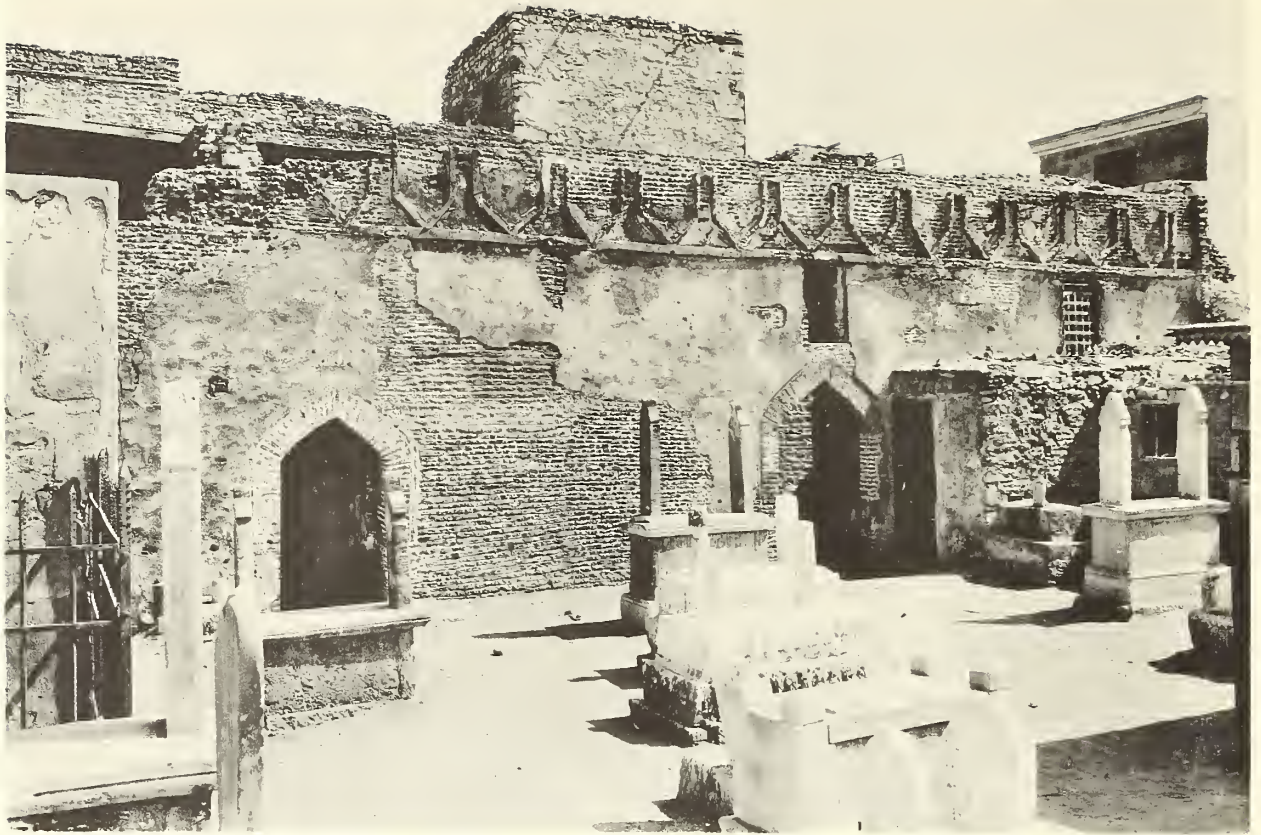


FIG. 7—WALL OF GATE SHOWING CRESTING (FROM SOUTH)

PHOTOGRAPH: CRESWELL



FIG. 8—SOUTH WALL OF CEMETERY. THREE SOUTHWEST NICHES

PHOTOGRAPH: CRESWELL

reconstructions of no particular interest, which would account for there having been no photographs or plans of them left on record. The *mashhad* also must have been a muddle of old buildings, probably largely Fatimid, for at that time there was much building, and there was an increased veneration for the saint during this Shiah rule. The site of the tomb is marked on both plans; Figure 2 gives the modern superimposed building, beneath which lies the old tomb. It will be seen on Figure 2 that there were Fatimid tombs close to the *mashhad*. The first kiblah of the early shrine is approximately to the south. It will be seen that two stairs led down from the higher level to the little court before the *mashhad*. In this little court, which was on the ground level of the caliphs' mausoleum, were other graves. As is evident from the plan the mausoleum was placed as close to the tomb as possible, apparently it backed on to the old wall of the *mashhad*, and its kiblah faced in the same direction that the shrine did.

The date of the erection of the mosque on the north side is unknown, but it was restored in 693-94 H. (1294-95 A.D.) by Muhammad al-Nāṣir ibn Qalā'ūn. At this stage it must have been later than was the *mashhad*; otherwise there would have been no necessity for the descending steps, for the ground was originally level (*Fig. 2*, steps descending from north and west). I take it that this mosque was on the site of still older buildings and, possibly, tombs, and that these were left and the mosques superimposed upon them. The pious would have been reluctant to destroy a tomb, but would not have hesitated to put it under the floor of a mosque.

Both plans show that the position of the kiblah of this mosque had been changed—almost certainly at the time of al-Nāṣir. The caliphs sited their kiblah to face in the same direction as did the *mashhad*; the kiblah marked *D* in the corner must also be of the later date.

This change of direction of the kiblah is also the reason for the extraordinary shape of the modern mosque. The superstructure of the tomb has been turned, without interfering with the tomb below, in order to make it face the changed direction of the modern kiblah, which is of the time of al-Nāṣir.

My information about the wall was received from the sheikh who drew me a plan of it as it was forty-five years ago. According to his plan the wall *E* to *L*, where there is now but a wooden paling, was the old north wall of the mosque of al-Nāṣir, and he stated that it is still beneath the ground. The original mosque might have been wider and not the peculiar shape that it is on the plan, but it must be remembered that on a holy site dating from an early period, with many previous buildings already in existence, later buildings had to accommodate themselves to the limitations of the site without regard to symmetry. The whole place was probably cluttered up with buildings in Herz's time. The sheikh also said that there was a line of pillars down the middle of the mosque. I have shown these conjecturally.

The passage *G* to *H* projects a little to the west of the kiblah wall of the old mosque; here there is an old stone door, *I*, now blocked up. The sheikh stated that this was the egress from the mosque to the passage and that there was no door in the east wall of the mosque.³ The passage is roofed, and over part of it are superstructures, houses, and remains of buildings. The right-hand wall of the passage, *L*, is an ancient brick wall with many coats of old stucco; I have counted four coatings of tremendous thickness. The wall *K* to the left is apparently on a stone foundation, the upper part being of brick and

³ There is actually a door here now in the modern wall, but I have left all such extraneous details out of my plan.

stone. Behind it is the cemetery of Muḥi al-Dīn, who has a little domed Fatimid tomb here, now sunk deep below the ground, at the level of the Abbasid mausoleum to the south of the passage; a door at *J* leads into the cemetery opposite the old door, *I*, to the mosque; it is similar, but considerably lower, and the passage floor is at a higher level—that of the early mosque. Behind the cemetery of Muḥi al-Dīn there is another little mausoleum, which is said to be the tomb of al-Djawharī, Saiyida Nafisa's servant.

The passage leads to a stone doorway *M* at the end, exactly like *I* and *J*, except that it has had a later segmental arch fitted into it. To the south there is a short length of modern wall, with a door which leads into a little cemetery, *N*, of no interest. Beyond this is the monumental doorway *C* (*Fig. 6*), which, as shown on *Figure 2*, is the gateway to the enclosure in which the mausoleum of the Abbasid caliphs is situated. It is built in the usual oblique fashion of such portals and is now ruined, the vaults being broken away. On the right is a modern wall. I do not think there ever was an old wall exactly at this place, inasmuch as this one cuts through the brick vaulting. It would appear that the wall, which must have existed, was slightly farther to the north. I do not see why Herz gave this and did not give what is without doubt the original farthest north wall of the gate (see *Fig. 2*, *L* and *O*) and its dependencies—buildings which must certainly have been there because adjacent to all mausoleums were structures where the women of the family passed the days of mourning.

Beyond the gate is the cemetery at *Q*; on the south side of the gate there is an old wall with most interesting archaic cresting, the only example of cresting in the enclosure (*Fig. 1*, *A* to *B*; *Fig. 2*, *S* to *B*, and *Fig. 7*). In the building to the west of the gate *Z* just behind the site of the kiblāh *V*, is the old brick wall, *L*, of the

corridor. There is no intervening wall, and the floor level is only slightly higher than that of the gate. The gateway *C* was possibly cut off from *N*, but perhaps it communicated with *Z* by *P*, where there seem to be traces of a door with later filling.

There are no traces of cresting in the wall of the corridor, although one would have expected to find it here in what was the outer wall of the building. But it must be remembered that cresting is structurally weak and would have easily tended to disintegrate.⁴ I cannot state whether this cresting was open or always solid as it now appears.

At the corner of the gateway at *S* is a fragment of wall projecting south near the top and above the existing wall. This was unnoted by Herz (there were other buildings here in his time); but it is an old wall bonded with the gate and must be the beginning of the east wall of the enclosure, for it is in alignment with the south-east angle of the south wall. This wall is brick and part stone, mended in places with the old bricks, and broken off below what would have been the line of the cresting; it joins the south wall of the enclosure, where there are seven prayer niches, which form a unique feature among Cairo monuments. They are placed in the south wall of the cemetery at regular intervals (*Fig. 8*). These alternate in size, and the center one is the largest; it is flanked by two smaller ones, these again in their turn by two larger medium-sized ones, and the wall toward each end is completed with smaller ones.⁵ The niches (see *Fig. 2* and *Fig. 8*) are Ayyubid in

⁴This can be seen in the mausoleum of Mustafa Pasha where we have similar but open cresting, forming a cutout pattern; this has been filled in in places where a superstructure had been erected above it (see mausoleum of Saiyida 'Āṭika and of al-Dja'farī).

⁵Herz mentioned three, the Survey map (1:1000) gives two.

type, keel-arched like those of the mausoleum (*Fig. 5*); they had pillars at one time at each angle, but these have lost their shafts in the course of time. They still retain their ancient coating of stucco, and their apses form salients on the back of the wall. This wall is still about ten feet high, but must have been much higher; it is broken away just below the top of the tallest niche, and the level of the ground is now more than a niche higher than the floor of the mausoleum. The center niche was probably about fifteen feet high. Was this wall surmounted by a cresting similar to that of the gateway, or did it originally have a roofed *riwāk* in front of it similar to the short one in front of Saiyida Ruḳaiya? At the southwest corner the angle appears to be original; the stucco here is old, but I can find no trace of the spring of the arches of a *riwāk*. Possibly the wall is broken off below what would have been that level. This wall continues north until it is lost in some buildings at the back of the modern mosque.

We are now in a position to reconstruct the whole site. The enclosure originally included the *mashhad* in its perimeter, but appears to have ended just short of the steps that led down from the west to the little court at about the place where the main *kiblah* of the modern mosque is now situated. To the north of these steps was the early mosque, which in turn had its own steps leading down to the little court. From this I conclude that first of all, in 824 A.D., the tomb of the saint was built. The *mashhad* was probably built next, and then other tombs rapidly followed.

There are Fatimid tombs beneath the floor of the modern mosque, situated outside the site of the old *mashhad*. The sheikh told me that there were once many more; at IX, under the wall of the present mosque and beside the old wall of the *mashhad* court was the tenth-century tomb of *Khadīdja* now moved to another posi-

tion near *B*; on the other side of the passage is the Fatimid tomb of Mufi al-Dīn. No doubt a mosque was soon built (where the mosque of Muhammad al-Nāṣir is shown), but possibly considerably later than the *mashhad*, and on the site of tombs, the area having already become congested. The Abbasid caliphs built the present mausoleum as close to the *mashhad* as they could get it, in or about 1261 A.D., and included in it the tomb of Abū Nadla. The next step, taken by the Abbasids or Baibars, possibly at the time of the erection of the mausoleum, was the building of the enclosure, which took in the *mashhad* and the mosque (the north wall of which makes the outside of the enclosure), many tombs remaining undisturbed within the walls. These caliphs also built the great gate and the monumental south wall, and thus a magnificent private cemetery was formed, with the *mashhad* and mosque as a part of it.

The cresting of the gate is archaic in form and is similar to that of the mausoleum of Mustafa Pasha, which dates from 1267-72 A.D. If turned upside down it becomes an Ayyubid keel arch, such as occurs in the niches of the mausoleum and of the south wall. It is agreed by all authorities that the gate is of the middle of the thirteenth century and that the mausoleum presents an appearance more in consonance with the early period of the tomb of *Shadjar* al-Durr of 1250 A.D. than with the mosque of Muhammad al-Nāṣir in the *Nahhāsīn* of 1303-4 A.D. All these buildings are at a lower level than the site of the mosque of Muhammad al-Nāṣir. As all stylistic evidence seems to establish this early date, we may assume that the caliphs built their mausoleum, the gateway, and the surrounding walls at about the same time; that is, probably not later than the seventh decade of the thirteenth century.

The next step in the history of the site was probably Muhammad al-Nāṣir's restoration of

an already existing mosque in 1294 A.D.; this in turn, as related by al-Djabartī⁶ was repaired by the Emir Abd al-Rahman Katkhudā in 1173 H. (1759-60 A.D.).

There is still one puzzle left—the covered passage *G-H*. It will be remembered that the tomb of Muḥi al-Dīn, the mausoleum of the caliphs, and their gateway are all at the lower level; but the site of the early mosque and the passage are at the higher level. The three stone doors in the walls of the passage are late, presumably of about the seventeenth century. The door *I* to the mosque is in an old wall obviously much older than the door. All three doors are similar and were almost certainly made at the same time. But the door *J* is lower than *I*, the inference being that its threshold was at the original low level. Is it possible that the wall *K* is the oldest of all? Now patched and mended, it is of great thickness, with what seems a stone foundation; the upper part of brick and stone is of an indeterminable date. It has had windows all along it which are now mostly blocked up or obscured by later buildings behind it. Was this wall here first, and did the caliphs leave the passageway free when they built their gate? Were the roof and the buildings constructed over it then, the windows being pierced in it to give sufficient light? The construction of passages beneath dwelling houses is a frequent feature of the Fatimid quarter of al-Ḳāhira. Such a development would account for the absence of cresting here. I have the impression that this part is

very old and that it has gone through many changes in its long history. It is clear from the inquiries made by the Comité in their attempt to clear this site and to get some kind of order into it that many different interests were concerned. The wakf of Saiyida Nafisa claimed rights to it, as also did the descendants of the family of the caliphs; and a kind of right of way to the passage which connects two large cemetery areas with the mosque was also established by the religious authorities.

Strange as it may seem after the lapse of seven hundred years, individuals stated to be of the family of the caliphs are still buried in the vaults of the mausoleum, though the descent is now in the female line. The people speak of the members of the family as "Saiyid" and "Saiyida," the titles given to the descendants of the Prophet. This the Abbasids are not, strictly speaking, but they are the descendants of his uncle, and by virtue of their caliphate are given the title.

There were many other tombs here previous to those of the caliphs, but the only tomb of importance now remaining is that of Khadīdja. It dates from the time of the Ikhshīds, and the fine Kufic inscription in the old yellowed marble states: ⁷ "This is the tomb of Khadīdja daughter of Muhammad ibn Bark al-Ṭarā'ifī. died the nineteenth Shawwāl of the year 347 (January 4, 959 A.D.). May God have mercy on her."

DOROTHEA RUSSELL

⁶ Al-Djabartī, *Merveilles biographiques et historiques* (Cairo, 1889), III, 126 and 241-42. I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor Creswell.

⁷ *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, et Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1933), IV, 144-45, No. 1491.

BOOK REVIEWS

PUBLIKATIONEN DES ARABISCHEN MUSEUMS IN CAIRO 1929–1939

Im Laufe eines Jahrzehnts hat Gaston Wiet, der energische und rührige Direktor des Arabischen Museums, etwa zwanzig wichtige Veröffentlichungen herausgegeben, die mit seinem Institut in Verbindung stehen. Um diese wirklich erstaunliche Leistung werden ihn viele der berühmtesten öffentlichen Sammlungen der Welt beneiden. Sie war möglich dank dem unermüdlichen Eifer Wiet's und der grosszügigen Förderung durch den für die Kunstforschung in seinem Lande besonders interessierten König Fuad I. Alle, die sich um die Probleme islamischer Kunst bemühen, werden diese Zugänglichkeit von Denkmälern und Dokumenten aus den reichen ägyptischen Beständen lebhaft begrüssen und dem Herausgeber wünschen, dass es ihm vergönnt sein möge, auf dem eingeschlagenen Wege seine bewährte Tatkraft weiter in gleichem Masse zu entfalten.

Der abgeschlossene Zeitraum darf als willkommenen Anlass gelten, auf die Bedeutung der als Publikationen des Arabischen Museums erschienenen Werke in einem Sammelreferat hinzuweisen, zumal ausführliche Besprechungen nur vereinzelt in der Fachliteratur anzutreffen und auch die weiter zurückliegenden Bände noch keineswegs veraltet sind.

In der Reihenfolge stehen die allgemeiner orientierenden Bücher voran; es folgen die zum Gesamtkatalog des Museums gehörigen Arbeiten und schliesslich solche, die in loserem Zusammenhang damit stehen. In der Mehrzahl sind sie in gewohnter, sorgfältiger Ausführung im Französischen Institut für Orientalische Archäologie gedruckt und mit vorzüglichen Lichtdrucktafeln ausgestattet.

Album du Musée Arabe du Caire. Par Gaston Wiet. Traduction anglaise par K. A. C. Creswell, traduction arabe par Hasan Hawary. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1930, 90 Tafeln, jede mit vorgesetztem Textblatt. 90 P.T.

Die Zusammenstellung dieses für weitere Kreise gedachten, handlichen Sammelbandes mit guten Wiedergaben der wichtigsten Objekte des Museums und kurzen, zweckmässigen Beschreibungen lässt nichts zu wünschen übrig. Die knappen, dreisprachigen Angaben (mit Inventar-Nummer, Massen, Daten usw.) genügen durchaus, wären aber bei einer Neuauflage in mancher Hinsicht—z.B. bei den Textilien—zu revidieren. Der leider inzwischen verstorbene arabische Übersetzer verdient besonderes Lob, dafür, dass er die durch das Fehlen einer zuverlässigen arabischen Terminologie gebotenen sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten im allgemeinen mit grossem Geschick bewältigt und sich dabei doch immer so wörtlich wie möglich an Wiet's Text gehalten hat.

Ein zusammenhängender Text als Einleitung wurde in diesem Falle mit Recht für überflüssig gehalten.

Guide sommaire du Musée Arabe. Par Gaston Wiet. Le Caire, 1939. 76 S., 28 Tafeln in Autotypie.

Ein neuer, kurzer Führer durch das Museum war dringend erwünscht nach den vielen Umstellungen der letzten Jahre. Er ist viel kürzer und anspruchsloser als der bekannte, ebenfalls nach Räumen geordnete Katalog, den Herz Bey in französischer und englischer Ausgabe herausgebracht hatte (2. Auflage, 1907), und will nur eine allgemeine Orientierung bieten.

Nach einer knappen historischen Einführung und einer kurzen ästhetischen Würdigung der islamischen Kunst folgt die Beschreibung, immer nur mit Aufzählung einiger weniger Gegenstände zwischen allgemeinen Betrachtungen über den Inhalt der einzelnen Säle. Der Leser wird so in geeigneter Form zum Nachdenken über das Geschehene angeregt.

Die Auswahl der französisch und arabisch beschrifteten Abbildungen bringt nur zur Hälfte wichtige Erzeugnisse ägyptisch-islamischer Kunst und will wohl ausdrücklich betonen, dass auch persische und türkische Kunst im Museum vertreten sind.

CATALOGUE GÉNÉRAL DU MUSÉE ARABE DU CAIRE

Von dem sehr grosszügig angelegten Gesamtkatalog des Museums sind bisher die im Folgenden besprochenen Bände erschienen. Weitere befinden sich in Vorbereitung; von ihnen wird vor allem der schon seit einigen Jahren angekündigte von E. Combe über die Inschriftenstoffe ausserordentlich wichtige und reichhaltige Bestände zugänglich machen.

Lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé. Par Gaston Wiet. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1929. 193 S., 92 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. 300 P.T.

Diese vorzügliche, von König Fuad angeregte und ihm gewidmete Arbeit gibt eine gewissenhafte Beschreibung der etwa 120 Stücke, die zum kostbarsten Besitz des Museums gehören und von denen etwa zwei Drittel datierbar sind. Der Text, mit sorgfältigen Angaben über Provenienz und Literatur, ist nach Inventarnummern geordnet, aber die Tafeln, die alle dekorierten Beispiele wiedergeben, halten die chronologische Reihenfolge inne, so dass man auch die technische Entwicklung an ihnen verfolgen kann.

Eine kunsthistorische Würdigung wird nicht versucht und die Frage nach den Herstellung-

sorten offen gelassen. Leider konnte das fast gleichzeitig erschienene, einschlägige Buch von C. J. Lamm, das diesen Problemen nachgeht, nicht mehr Berücksichtigung finden.

Bei den gestifteten Lampen nimmt Wiet an, dass sie in das Jahr der Stiftung bzw. Vollendung des Gebäudes zu datieren sind, auch wenn sie keine eindeutige Herrscherinschrift tragen. Das scheint etwas gewagt, ist aber doch wohl durchaus berechtigt. Denn wenn z.B. unter den 39 aus der Madrasa des Sultān Ḥasan stammenden Exemplaren deutlich drei Gruppen zu unterscheiden sind, so lassen ihre stilistischen Abweichungen zwar auf die Herkunft aus verschiedenen Fabrikationszentren schliessen, sind aber mit der einheitlichen Datierung auf 764 H. wohl in Einklang zu bringen. Auch die 24 Barḳūk-Lampen gehören mehreren Richtungen an, und die Diskussion über die endgültige Zuweisung der Erzeugnisse an die in Frage kommenden Werkstätten wird an Hand von sicheren technischen Merkmalen erst einzusetzen haben.

In epigraphischer Hinsicht sind von besonderem Interesse die Lampen für den Emir Ṭughaitamur (No. 314), für Ḳānī Bāy al-Djarkasī (No. 332), über den Wiet eine Anzahl Daten zusammenbringt, für Saif al-Dīn Ulmās (No. 3154) und die Flasche für den Aiyūbiden Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (gest. 1260), das früheste Stück des Bestandes (No. 4261). Die späteste Ampel (No. 333) ist für Ḳāyt Bāy sicherlich in Valencia oder Barcelona hergestellt worden und findet in ähnlich emaillierten spanischen Gläsern ihre Parallelen.

Nur einmal ist eine Meistersignatur genannt: 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ramakī (oder "al-Zamakī") auf der Ulmās-Lampe von 1330; sie findet sich ebenfalls auf der ungefähr gleichzeitigen Ampel für Saif al-Dīn Ḳūṣūn im Metropolitan Museum.

In einem Anhang hat Wiet alle 170 datierbaren, ihm bekannten Beispiele von Emailgläsern zusammengestellt, eine sehr nützliche Liste,

die sich noch um manche weiteren Stücke vervollständigen liesse.

Les Bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide.
Par Edmond Pauty. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1931. VII, 81 S., 97 Tafeln in Lichtdruck, 8 Textabb. 225 P.T.

Les Bois à épigraphes jusqu'à l'époque mam-louke. Par Jean David-Weill. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1931. VIII, 89 S., 31 Tafeln. 120 P.T.

Les Bois à épigraphes depuis l'époque mamlouke.
Par Jean David-Weill. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, Boulac, 1936. VIII, 139 S., 43 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. 120 P.T.

Der Plan der Trennung der zu katalogisierenden, unvergleichlich reichen Bestände des Museums an Holzschnitzereien in beschriftete und unbeschriftete liess sich zweckmässig nur durchführen, wenn in den Bänden von David-Weill ausschliesslich die Inschriften behandelt wurden, eventuell nur mit Detailabbildungen, nicht aber alle Stücke, auf denen Epigraphik, wenn auch in ganz sekundärer Bedeutung vorkommt. In seinem zweiten Bande hat David-Weill sich denn auch tatsächlich an dieses Prinzip gehalten, während im ersten etwa 20 Objekte abgebildet werden, die auch auf den Tafeln bei Pauty erscheinen. Dazu kommt eine grundsätzliche Verschiedenheit in der Art der Bearbeitung und in der Anordnung, die ein gleichzeitiges Konsultieren beider Autoren unnötig erschwert, zumal zwar Pauty auf David-Weill verweist, nicht aber dieser auf den offenbar etwas später vollendeten Band seines Kollegen. Die ungenaue Trennung macht sich besonders bei der Behandlung der bekannten Holzmihrābs bemerkbar.

David-Weill beitet einen in seiner Vollständigkeit vorbildlichen Katalog, ohne Rücksicht auf

die kunstgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Stücke, aber mit sorgfältigen Beschreibungen, mit Lesung und Deutung aller Texte. Gewissenhafte Provenienz- und Literaturangaben, paläographische, philologische und historische Bemerkungen machen den besonderen Wert dieser Veröffentlichung aus. Die Anordnung nach Inventarnummern ist ebenso zweckmässig wie die chronologische Reihung der Tafeln, und ein vorzüglicher, vielseitiger Registerapparat erleichtert in jeder Hinsicht die Benutzung.

Bei Pauty dagegen ist der Text nicht nach dem Inventar, sondern entsprechend den Tafeln chronologisch geordnet, mit einer angehängten Konkordanztafel. Die Beschreibungen sind oft etwas knapp, die bibliographischen Angaben ganz lückenhaft; Hinweise auf eng verwandte oder gar zugehörige Stücke in anderen Sammlungen vermisst man sehr. Der Hauptwert des Bandes liegt in dem übersichtlich geordneten, vorzüglichen Tafelmaterial.

Einige Inschriftbretter sind gelesen nur bei David-Weill, aber abgebildet nur bei Pauty. Bei diesem finden sich u.a. zwei epigraphisch bemerkenswerte Stücke, die eigentlich bei David-Weill stehen sollten: No. 9054 mit einer nicht gelesenen Inschrift von 286 H. (1930 erworben, fehlt auch in dem betr. Bande des *Répertoire chronologique*, der 1932 erschien!) und No. 672 (Pauty, Pl. 95), eine Schranktür aus Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'ī mit ungelesenen Schriftfüllungen.

Von den nicht beschrifteten Holzschnitzereien ist noch ein weiterer Band mit den aiyūbidischen und mamlūkischen Denkmälern zu erwarten.

Objets en cuivre. Par Gaston Wiet. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1932. VIII, 315 S. 76 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. 275 P.T.

Der Katalog umfasst, was aus dem Buchtitel nicht ohne weiteres hervorgeht, die Bronze- und Kupfergegenstände nur insoweit sie historische

Inschriften enthalten, bedarf also noch einer Ergänzung durch einen Band, der die nicht beschrifteten Metallgegenstände zu enthalten hätte.

Die Anordnung des Textes ist nach Inventarnummern, die der Tafeln nach Gegenständen: Ständer, Schreibkästen, Ampeln, Leuchter, Schlüssel, Zauberschalen, Speisekästen. Auf die Museumsstücke folgen elf weitere aus der Sammlung des Prinzen Youssef Kamal und dann als Anhang in chronologischer Reihung Bronzeobjekte mit historischen Inschriften aus anderen Beständen, im ganzen 566 Nummern, schliesslich noch ein 38 Seiten umfassendes, ganz vorzügliches Personen- und Sachregister.

Wiet hat sich in diesem Katalog nicht begnügt, die einzelnen Objekte zu beschreiben, mit Lesung der Inschriften und allen weiteren wünschenswerten Angaben, sondern hat in vielen Fällen Listen verwandter Objekte eingefügt, die die Bedeutung eigener Exkurse gewinnen. So finden wir bei ihm Aufzählungen der ihm bekannten Bronzeampeln, Leuchter, Vasen, Becken, Kessel, Schlüssel, Kästen, Schreibzeuge, Zauberschalen—von diesen allein 41 Stück, mit Angabe der zu heilenden Krankheiten—und dürfen diese uneigennützig Mitteilung mühsam gesammelter Notizen mit besonderer Dankbarkeit begrüßen. An anderen Stellen wieder sind Arbeiten mit Meistersignaturen—70 Stück., mit Daten und Herstellungsorten, mit Namen und Titeln mamlükischer Emire usw. aufgezählt.

Das Problem der Abgrenzung der Tauschierschulen, das für die Geschichte der islamischen Metallindustrie von einschneidender Bedeutung ist, wird nicht angeschnitten und auch sonst geht Wiet auf rein kunstgeschichtliche Fragen nicht ein, aber allen, die sich mit diesem Sondergebiet befassen, wird ohnedies ein ausserordentlich reiches Material in meisterhafter Weise nach den verschiedensten Richtungen hin erschlossen, und der hier vorliegende Katalog wird ihnen als zuverlässige Grundlage bei weiteren Forschungen dienen.

Stèles funéraires. Bisher erschienen:

Tome I. Par Hassan Hawary et Hussein Rached. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1932. VIII, 248 S., 65 Tafeln. 225 P.T.

Tome II. Par Gaston Wiet. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, Boulac, 1936. 213 S., 58 Tafeln. 225 P.T.

Tome IV. Par Gaston Wiet. Le Caire: Musée National de l'Art Arabe, 1936. 194 S., 49 Tafeln. 150 P.T.

Tome V. Par Gaston Wiet. Le Caire: Imprimerie de la Biblioth. Égyptienne, 1937. 208 S., 46 Tafeln.

Von dem Gesamtkatalog der Grabsteine liegen somit vier Bände vor; der noch dazwischen fehlende dritte, von denselben Bearbeitern wie der erste, soll demnächst herauskommen. Das bearbeitete Material, das chronologisch geordnet und durchnummeriert ist, wird sich dann folgendermassen auf die einzelnen Bände verteilen:

- I. No. 1 bis 400, umfassend die Jahre 31 bis 240 H.
- II. No. 401 bis 800, umfassend die Jahre 241 bis 251 H.
- III. No. 801 bis 1200, umfassend die Jahre 252 bis 271 H.
- IV. No. 1201 bis 1600, umfassend die Jahre 272 bis 314 H.
- V. No. 1601 bis 2000, umfassend die Jahre 316 bis 384 H.

Die Texte sind arabisch gelesen (ohne Übersetzung), die Beschreibungen enthalten Angaben über Masse, Material, Herkunft usw. Die letztere liess sich nur bei der kleineren Hälfte der Stelen genauer bestimmen—darunter viele aus den Friedhöfen von Asuan, 'Ain al-Şira u.a.—während die Mehrzahl leider von ungewisser Provenienz ist: "Achetée en . . ." lautet dann der lakonische Vermerk oder, noch häufiger, "Trouvée au dépôt du Musée." Bei den vom Service des Antiquités überwiesenen Stücken

scheint wenigstens festzustehen, dass sie aus Oberägypten stammen.

Jeder Band hat Register und Konkordanztafel für die Inventarnummern, der erste ausserdem ein arabisches Vorwort. Solange weitere Bände nicht erschienen sind, wird man für die späteren Stelen Wiet's *Répertoire chronologique* konsultieren müssen, das ausserdem Übersetzungen der Texte bringt. Die sorgfältig ausgeführten Lichtdrucktafeln bilden die denkbar zuverlässigste Grundlage zum Studium der kalligraphischen Wandlungen in der arabischen Epigraphik Ägyptens.

Les Filtres de gargoulettes. Par Pierre Olmer. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1932. VIII, 124 S., 79 Tafeln. 190 P.T.

Ein Katalog der in grosser Zahl vorhandenen und in Ornamenten, mit Segenswünschen, Tiermotiven u. dgl. reizvoll verzierten Siebverschlüsse von unglasierten Tongefässen hat keine epigraphische und wegen der Unsicherheit der Zuschreibungen nur geringe archäologische Bedeutung, ist aber trotzdem zu begrüssen als umfassender Einblick in ein Sondergebiet der Keramik, das neben vielen ästhetischen Reizen eine grosse Ursprünglichkeit im künstlerischen Schaffen offenbart. Und man darf dem Verfasser, der selbst Leiter einer Kunstschule ist, das Zeugnis ausstellen, dass er sich mit besonderer Liebe und tiefem Verständnis in diese Formenwelt hineingefunden hat.

Nach einer Einleitung über Bestimmung und Art der Herstellung derartiger Siebgefässe ordnet er seinen Katalog durchaus zweckmässig nach dem Dekor in Beispiele mit geometrischen, figürlichen, heraldischen und epigraphischen Motiven, wobei zumal bei der Zahl nach überwiegenden ersten Gruppe die Unterteilungen sehr sinnfällig getroffen werden. Das Tafelmaterial, mit den wiedergegebenen Stücken in natürlicher Grösse,

ist gut gewählt und folgt derselben, übersichtlichen Einteilung.

Sehr gewagt dagegen erscheint die mangels zuverlässiger Belege versuchte historische Gliederung in einen "primitiven" tūlūnidischen, einen "freien" fāṭimidischen, einen "verfeinerten" aiyūbidischen und einen "prächtigen" mamlūkischen Stil, trotz der Heranziehung motivisch verwandter, anderer Erzeugnisse. Eine reinliche Scheidung nach Epochen wird sich hier überzeugend erst durchführen lassen, wenn wirklich schlüssige Dokumente vorliegen, deren Auffindung durchaus im Bereich der Wahrscheinlichkeit liegt.

La Necropoli musulmana di Aswan. Di Ugo Monneret de Villard. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1930. 55 S. mit 81 Zeichnungen und 29 Tafeln. 103 P.T.

Nach einer Übersicht über die literarischen Erwähnungen und einer Schilderung des Zustandes der Ruinen geht der Verfasser auf die allgemeine Bedeutung der Gräberstadt ein, in der er eine provinzielle Bauschule mit Beziehungen zur Hauptstadt am Werke sieht. Die Gräber waren planlos angelegt, ursprünglich aber einzeln umfriedet und wurden erst später durch Hineinbauen neuer Bestattungen gehäuft. Gewöhnlich war neben dem Grabraum noch eine kleine Bestätte mit Miḥrāb, bisweilen ein Brunnen. Eine grosse Moschee inmitten des Gräberfeldes, mit Betsaal über Kuppelquadraten und rundem Minarett auf quadratischer Basis, ist zerstört. Von einer Muṣallā lässt sich noch der Kiblatrakt feststellen, mit Miḥrābvertiefungen und gemauertem Minbar. In Verbindung mit einzelnen Mausoleen fanden sich kleinere Oratorien. Starke Schwankungen in der Kibla-Orientierung fallen auf.

Bei der Einzelbetrachtung der verschiedenen Anlagen unterscheidet Monneret als Haupttypen: Grabumfriedungen einfacher Art, rechteckige Kastengräber — eins davon datiert 1021 A.D.,

Grabkammern mit Tonnenwölbung und Kuppelmausoleen in verschiedenen Varianten. Abweichungen von diesen Grundformen und eine besonders grosse Anlage, mit Portikus, Vorräumen, Hof, Kuppelraum und Betstätte, werden aufgeführt.

Sehr vorsichtig ist Monneret hinsichtlich der Datierung der Gräberstadt, die kaum Schwierigkeiten geboten hätte, wenn nicht seinerzeit von übereifrigen Freunden arabischer Epigraphik sämtliche Stelen bis auf eine "gerettet" worden wären—meist ins Arabische Museum in Kairo. Die harten Worte, die Monneret für diese leichtsinnige und gewissenlose Aktion findet, bei der man es nicht einmal für nötig hielt, Gräber und Stelen wenigstens flüchtig zu numerieren, erscheinen durchaus berechtigt, wenn man bedenkt, dass durch diese Beraubung ein wichtiges Kapitel islamischer Baugeschichte endgültig ausgelöscht ist.

Es sind etwa 600 Stelen aus der Nekropole von Asuan bekannt, jetzt wohl meist publiziert, davon 166 in den bisher erschienenen Bänden der *Stèles funéraires* (siehe oben), und weitere in Wiet's *Répertoire chronologique*. Sie erstrecken sich auf die Zeit von 174 bis 587 H., aber fünf Sechstel des ganzen Bestandes allein auf das 3. Jahrhundert H. und von diesen wieder die Hälfte auf den kurzen Zeitraum von 25 Jahren (241 bis 266 H.). Unter solchen Umständen könnte man versucht sein, die Mehrzahl der Grabbauten noch ins 9. Jahrhundert n.Chr. anzusetzen. Das waren aber offenbar nur die primitiveren Anlagen; die Mausoleen müssen nach dem archäologischen Befund grossenteils fātimidisch, einige noch etwas später sein, und man darf Monneret beipflichten, wenn er für sie allgemein das 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert annimmt.

Wer die sorgfältige und gewissenhafte Methode des Verfassers aus seinen vielen verdienstvollen Arbeiten kennt, wird ihm als dem berufenen Führer durch die Gräberstadt von Asuan willig folgen. Seine klaren und einleuchtenden Darlegungen werden durch die vielen von ihm

aufgenommenen Grundrisse zu einem eindrucksvollen Gesamtbild vervollständigt.

Bois sculptés d'églises coptes. (Époque fatimite.)

Par Edmond Pauty. Avec introduction historique par Gaston Wiet. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1930. VII, 39 S., 45 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. 100 P.T.

In seinem Vorwort gibt Pauty eine kurze Übersicht über die Stellung der Kopten im islamischen Ägypten, Wiet in seiner historischen Einführung Auszüge aus älteren Quellen über diese Beziehungen, mit anschliessenden Notizen über die beiden Kirchen Sitt Barbāra und Abū Saifain. Er nimmt an, dass die später beschriebenen Schnitzereien von christlichen Künstlern im fātimidischen Stile hergestellt wurden, der, wie in stärkerem Masse die vorhergehenden Perioden, im wesentlichen noch Koptenarbeit gewesen sein soll. Gegen diese These lassen sich aus der gewerblichen Produktion mehrere stichhaltige Argumente vorbringen, und ich persönlich neige mehr zu der von Monneret in seiner Monographie über Sitt Barbāra vertretenen Ansicht, dass es sich um islamische Arbeit auf christliche Bestellung gehandelt haben mag. Jedenfalls ist es schwer zu verstehen, dass koptische Schnitzer, wenn sie ihre eigenen Kirchen verzierten, sich entgegen ihrer Jahrhunderte alten Tradition eines durch und durch islamischen Schmuckstils bedienten. War dieser ihnen tatsächlich dermassen in Fleisch und Blut übergegangen, dass sie sich nicht einmal für kirchliche Aufgaben umzustellen vermochten, dann ist es völlig irrelevant, welcher Religion sie äusserlich angehörten; ihr künstlerisches Bekenntnis war offensichtlich das zum fātimidisch-islamischen Zeitstil.

Pauty gibt zunächst eine eingehende Beschreibung des Lettners aus Sitt Barbāra, mit Details auf 16 Tafeln. Er will im Dekor starke byzantinische Einflüsse erkennen, deren Nachweis ihm schwerlich gelungen ist, und datiert die Arbeit

ans Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts, noch vor die Regierung des christenfeindlichen al-Ḥākim. Mir scheint im Gegenteil alles für eine Entstehung nach Aufhebung der Verfolgungsedikte, also nach 1020 zu sprechen, und vor 1060, als die jetzt im Arabischen Museum aufbewahrten, stilistisch verwandten, aber reiferen Schnitzbretter für den Fāṭimidenpalast gefertigt wurden (genauer 1058–1065, unter al-Mustanṣir).

An zweiter Stelle geht Pauty dann auf die beiden Holzschranken von Abū Saifain ein, von denen die grössere in der zwischen 1094 und 1121 erbauten Georgskapelle stand, die beim Brande von Fustāt verschont blieb. Sie mag also noch am Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts gearbeitet sein, und das häufige Vorkommen von Kreuzsymbolen sowie der von der üblichen fāṭimidischen Formulierung etwas abweichende Figurenstil lassen wohl an einen koptischen Schnitzer denken. Es wäre noch zu untersuchen, ob der zweite, kleinere Lettner aus derselben Kirche etwa gleichzeitig ist, wie Lamm annimmt (*Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XVIII [1935–36], 79), oder erst nach dem Wiederaufbau (1175), also Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts errichtet wurde.

Die meisten hier aufgeworfenen Probleme bedürfen noch der Erörterung, und es ist sehr zu begrüßen, dass die behandelten wichtigen Holzdankmäler in so vorzüglichen Reproduktionen vorliegen.

La Céramique musulmane de l'Égypte. Par Aly Bey Bahgat et Félix Massoul. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1930. 97 S., 84 Tafeln. 200 P.T.

Mit der bereits 1922 (bei Frobenius in Basel) erschienenen Publikation von 184, z.T. ausgezeichneten, farbigen Tafeln (*La Céramique égyptienne de l'époque musulmane*) wusste man nicht recht etwas anzufangen, solange es an der erforderlichen Begründung für die offenbar etwas subjektiven Zuweisungen der verschiedenen, reproduzierten Fayencegattungen an bestimmte

Zentren und Perioden fehlte. In dieser Hinsicht wird man durch den vorliegenden, von Aly Bahgat noch bei seinen Lebzeiten verfassten Text befriedigt, wenn auch nicht immer überzeugt. Dazu kommen eingehende und lehrreiche keramisch-technische Erörterungen von dem in diesen Dingen sehr bewanderten Félix Massoul und eine grosse Zahl weiterer Tafeln mit vielem neuen, geschickt gruppierten und aufschlussreichen Bildmaterial.

Die Arbeit hebt an mit einer äusserst nützlichen Zusammenstellung von Auszügen aus arabischen Autoren über die keramische Produktion Ägyptens. Dann werden in einem Kapitel über die Töpferzunft Textstellen und Lokalbefunde zur Frage der ehemaligen Brennöfen herangezogen und die wichtigsten Ḥisba-Vorschriften übersetzt. Es folgt die technische Untersuchung der sogen. Fustātware, mit Angaben über Tonmasse, Glasuren, Arbeitsprozess und Herkunft der Ingredienzien. Das Lüsterverfahren wird besonders behandelt, und es ist zu bedauern, dass Aly Bey die nach seinem Tode veröffentlichten Zustimmungen von Butler, Gallois und Martin für seine These von der ägyptischen Heimat dieser Technik nicht mehr verwerten konnte. (Meine ablehnende Stellungnahme habe ich in *Ars Islamica*, I [1934], 149–59, eingehend begründet).

Die ausführliche, historische Betrachtung der Lüsterfayencen des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts wird auch bei denjenigen auf Widerspruch stossen, die mit der grundsätzlichen Einstellung des Verfassers sympathisieren. Unter der kleinen, als vor-ṭūlūnidisch bezeichneten Gruppe sind mehrere Fragmente mit typischem sogenannten Sāmarrādekor, und wenn die Jeuniette-Vase im Louvre dazu gerechnet wird, die andere für fāṭimidisch halten, so ist die Verständigung schwierig. Im übrigen gilt die in erheblichen Mengen in Fustāt gefundene Sāmarrāware natürlich als rein ṭūlūnidisch, und selbst türkische Einzelheiten im Kostüm zieht Aly Bey als Belege für die Ṭūlūnperiode heran, obwohl sie doch damals im Iraq ebenso

verkommen mussten. Als Lokalerzeugnisse von Sāmarrā lässt er die Stücke mit eleganterem Dekor gelten, ohne freilich zu verraten, wie er die beiden Gruppen technisch zu unterscheiden vermag. In Wirklichkeit übersieht er die charakteristischen Merkmale der tatsächlich nachweisbaren, an die Iraqware angelehnten echten Tūlūnidenerzeugnisse.

Im Gegensatz dazu muss die Untersuchung über die fāṭimidische Lüsterware zu den ergebnisreichsten Kapiteln des Buches gerechnet werden; denn mit unbestreitbarem Erfolg sind hier aus dem riesigen Bestand an Scherben einzelne besonders rührige Werkstätten herausgesondert. Zunächst wird die künstlerische Persönlichkeit des in vielen Signaturen genannten Meisters Sa'd geschickt abgegrenzt, sodass auch die Attributionen nicht bezeichneter Beispiele an sein Atelier im allgemeinen einleuchten. Wenn er in der 1. Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts gearbeitet haben mag, so müssen die Erzeugnisse des derber zeichnenden, noch vom Tūlūnidienstil beeinflussten Muslim noch ans Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts gesetzt werden. Es werden noch eine Anzahl weiterer, vereinzelt vorkommender Namen verzeichnet und gewisse Gewohnheiten in der Art des Dekors als Kennzeichen für bestimmte Betriebe aufgeführt; vorsichtiger Weise wird man sich aber vorerst nur an die meist im Boden der Stücke angebrachten, tatsächlichen Marken halten. Dass mit der Zerstörung von Fustāt und dem Machtantritt der Aiyūbiden die Lüsterfabrikation in Ägypten aufhört, scheint erwiesen; die hier ausgesprochene Vermutung, die Kairener Töpfer seien damals nach Andalusien und Syrien ausgewandert, hat viel für sich, obwohl es nahe liegt, anzunehmen, dass wenigstens die Shī'iten unter ihnen nach Persien übersiedelten, wo gerade in der fraglichen Zeit die Herstellung von Lüsterfayencen anhebt.

Die weiteren Kapitel des Buches beschäftigen sich weniger ausführlich mit den farbigen Fayencen mannigfacher Technik, die in Alt-Kairo

zutage kamen; dabei werden auch gewisse Gattungen für die lokale Produktion in Anspruch genommen, die nach den bei Bāb Sharḳī in Damaskus aufgefundenen Fehlbränden ziemlich sicher als syrischer Import angesehen werden dürfen. Es folgt die zahlreiche Zunft der mamlūkischen Töpfer um Ghaibī, die in der Sonderpublikation von Abel (siehe unten) eingehend behandelt ist. Einige der hier tätigen Meister scheinen sich auch in der häufig heraldisch dekorierten Keramik mit Schmelzglasuren betätigt zu haben, in der die Werkstatt des Sharaf führend hervortrat. Zum Schluss findet noch verschiedenes Töpfergerät, unter Nennung der üblichen Bezeichnungen für die einzelnen Geschirrformen, ferner die unglasierte Tonware mit Siebverschlüssen—vgl. den Katalog von Olmer—und die Architekturkeramik kurz Erwähnung.

Die Herausgabe des Werkes ist nicht nur als Akt der Pietät gegen den früheren Direktor des Museums, sondern als wesentliche Bereicherung unserer Kenntnisse auf dem Gebiet der islamischen Keramik zu bewerten und dankbar zu begrüßen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit mag aber auch dem Bedauern Ausdruck gegeben werden, dass ein so vorzüglicher Kenner der Fustāt-Keramik, wie ihn das Arabische Museum in Hussein Rached besitzt, seine Erfahrungen bisher nicht in Buchform niedergelegt hat.

Gaibi et les grands fayenciers égyptiens d'époque mamlouke. Avec un catalogue de leur œuvres conservées au Musée d'Art Arabe du Caire. Par Armand Abel. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1930. VII, 115 S., 31 Tafeln. 105 P.T.

Vor einer minutiösen Inventarbeschreibung der hierher gehörigen Scherben, die von 26 verschiedenen Töpfern herrühren, werden die Besonderheiten der einzelnen Meister und ihre Beziehungen zu einander erörtert, leider ohne

Berücksichtigung der reichen Bestände in Berlin (etwa 130 signierte Stücke), London u.a.O. Ghaibi—warum “Gaibi”?—hält Abel für einen syrischen Christen, dessen Vater aus Tabrīz kam (daher gelegentlich “al-Tawrīzī”), und er stellt fest, dass bei ihm Bezeichnungen in 22 verschiedenen Schreibweisen vorkommen, von denen einige, zumal die Abkürzungen, nicht eigenhändige, sondern Werkstattarbeiten betreffen. Viele andere Meister scheinen von ihm beeinflusst.

Abel nimmt an, dass wir es mit syrischen und persischen Töpfern zu tun haben, die vor den Mongolen nach Kairo flüchteten und dort die ganze Gruppe von Fayencen im 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts schufen. Die zeitliche Aufeinanderfolge der einzelnen Meister ist mit Geschick aus den Eigenarten ihres Stils herausgelesen und dürfte kaum erheblichem Widerspruch begegnen: al-Miṣrī wird an den Anfang gestellt, Abū'l-‘Izz ans Ende.

Leider hat der Verfasser seine Arbeit recht unpraktisch angeordnet, nämlich die Schlussfolgerungen an den Anfang gestellt, dann die Meister—gewöhnlich ohne Hinweise auf Katalog und Tafeln—chronologisch betrachtet und schliesslich die Scherben wieder in einer anderen Reihenfolge katalogisiert. Das zugehörige Bildmaterial ist so völlig unübersichtlich und seine Benützung neben dem Text unnötig kompliziert.

L'Exposition persane de 1931. Par Gaston Wiet.

Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. Orientale, 1933. VIII, 155 S., 54 Tafeln in Lichtdruck und 8 Texttafeln. 185 P.T.

Die Publikation behandelt zwei völlig verschiedene Themen, die nur das gemeinsam haben, dass sie beide durch die bekannte Ausstellung im Burlington House in London veranlasst wurden, nämlich einmal die arabische Epigraphik, die dort vertreten war, und dann Ägyptens An-

teil an dieser Schau. Beim Bildmaterial sind beide Gruppen vermengt und nach stofflicher Zusammengehörigkeit geordnet.

Der erste Teil bringt 72 Gegenstände, z.T. erstmalig publiziert, mit Lesung der Inschriften, bibliographischen Angaben und interessanten Exkursen (über Tīrāzproduktion, über ‘Aḏud al-Dawla usw.). Bezüglich des Stoffes aus San Isidoro in Leon wäre zu bemerken, dass die im Katalog der Ausstellung ausgesprochene Vermutung, er sei trotz der Ortsangabe “Baghdād” spanisches Fabrikat, nicht so unberechtigt ist, wie Wiet meint. Aus technischen Gründen gehört das Stück eher nach Andalusien, und ich bin überzeugt, dass es sich um eine der von arabischen Autoren erwähnten Nachahmungen Baghdāder Seidenstoffe handelt. Bedenklich ist auch, trotz seiner Herkunft aus Mashhad, der von “Muḥammad Kirmānī 1061 H.” (1651 A.D.) bezeichnete seidene Betteppich mit Gartenmuster und Vögeln.

Im zweiten Teil ist die eingehende Beschreibung des für Olčaitu 713 H. in Hamadān hergestellten und 1326 vom Emir Baktamur Sākī für sein Mausoleum in Kairo gestifteten Prunkkoran aus der Ägyptischen Bibliothek zu beachten. Bei dem bekannten, von Bihzād illustrierten Bustān-Ms. schliesst sich Wiet der Meinung von Sakisian an, dass die eine Miniatur von Mīrak Naḳḳāsh signiert gewesen sei. Als Ergänzung zu diesem Teil der Arbeit mag das anlässlich der Ausstellung Persischer Kunst in Kairo, Januar 1935, von der Société des Amis de l'Art herausgegebene Album herangezogen werden (Cf. Peter Ruthven in *Ars Islamica*, II [1935], 245–47).

Als Anhang bietet Wiet eine überraschend reichhaltige, alphabetische Liste aller iranischen Orte, die als Textilzentren in orientalischen und europäischen Quellen genannt werden, mit Angaben über etwa 125 Orte und Landschaften, eine äusserst wichtige Abhandlung. In weiteren Annexen behandelt er datierte Keramik, die die von mir aufgestellten Listen ergänzt, und die zehn bisher bekannten Būyiden-Inschriften.

Al-Fann al-Islāmī fī Miṣr. Par Zaky Mohammed Hassan. Tome I: De la conquête arabe jusqu'à la fin de l'époque toulounide. Le Caire: Imprimerie de la Bibliothèque Égyptienne, 1935. 133 S., 37 Tafeln in Autotypie. 40 P.T.

Französisch ist an dieser Publikation nur der eine der beiden Umschlagtitel; der gesamte Text und auch die Beschriftung der Abbildungen sind ausschliesslich arabisch. Es handelt sich hier um die von einem in Paris und Berlin geschulten Kunsthistoriker geschriebene, zusammenfassende Darstellung eines der wichtigsten Abschnitte aus der Kunstgeschichte des islamischen Ägypten, und der Versuch, die Ergebnisse wissenschaftlicher Forschung auf diesem Gebiete in arabischer Sprache gebildeten Kreisen im Orient zugänglich zu machen, ist an sich schon allen Lobes wert.

Der Inhalt hält insofern nicht ganz, was der Titel verspricht, als der Verfasser die umaiyadische Epoche nicht berücksichtigt; man darf also nicht erwarten, über die Bauten 'Amr's, über die ersten Moscheen in Alexandrien und andere Probleme des ersten Jahrhunderts nach der Eroberung unterrichtet zu werden. Desto eingehender wird die ṭulūnidische Epoche behandelt, unter sorgfältiger Heranziehung der gesamten europäischen Fachliteratur und mit z.T. bisher unbekannten Material.

Nach einer kurzen, historischen Einführung geht Zaky Hassan in dem ersten Teil seines Buches "Bauten und Baudekor" zunächst auf die Beziehungen des ṭulūnidestils zu Sāmarrā ein, behandelt dann die Moschee des Aḥmed ibn Ṭulūn, als deren Baumeister er einen mit dem General nach Ägypten gekommenen Iraker annimmt, zieht Nachrichten über die Stadt al-Ḥaṭṭā'i, über den Ṭulūnidpalast, Brücken- und Hospitalbauten heran und widmet dem Baudekor ein besonderes Kapitel, das durch Bildtafeln mit den Stuckmustern eines vom Arabischen

Museum ausgegrabenen Wohnhauses erläutert wird. Der zweite Teil *Kleinkunst* befasst sich mit Stoffen, Holzschnitzereien, Keramik, Glas und Malerei derselben Epoche, und hier hätte man gern noch weiteres Bildmaterial vereinigt gefunden, um einen vollständigeren Gesamteindruck von der Auswirkung des Ṭulūnidestils im Gerät zu gewinnen. Ebenso vermisst man Grundrisse der Ṭulūnmoschee und des genannten Wohnhauses.

Das Werk enthält als Anhang noch eine Bibliographie und ein Register. Die Daten sind durchweg nur in christlicher Zeitrechnung gegeben.

Das Unternehmen des am Arabischen Museum und an der Ägyptischen Universität wirkenden Verfassers, in voller Beherrschung der europäischen Fachwissenschaft und nach ihren Methoden Probleme der islamischen Kunstgeschichte vor einer arabischen Leserschaft auszubringen, wird von all denen lebhaft begrüsst werden, denen an der Heranziehung eines leistungsfähigen Nachwuchses im Orient selbst aufrichtig gelegen ist.

Kunūz al-Fāṭimiyīn ("Die Schätze der Fāṭimiden"). Von Zaky Mohammed Hassan. Al-Ḥāhira: Druckerei der Ägyptischen Bibliothek, 1937. 292 S., 64 Tafeln in Autotypie. 25 P.T.

كنوز الفاطميين للدكتور زكى محمد حسن •
القاهرة ١٣٥٩هـ - ١٩٣٧م - بمطبعة دار الكتب المصرية

Nach einer kurzen historischen Skizze über Museen in alter und neuer Zeit und einer programmatischen Umgrenzung seines Themas behandelt der Verfasser im ersten Teile seiner Arbeit die nach dem Bericht Nāṣir-i Khusrāws und den von Maḥrīzī verwerteten Quellen im Fāṭimidenpalaste aufgespeicherten Sammlungen und Kostbarkeiten. Er bespricht nacheinander die Magazine der Handschriften, Kleider, Schmucksachen, Möbel, Waffen, Sättel, Zelte, von denen

die Rede ist, und hebt den hohen Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit der manchmal recht phantastisch anmutenden Beschreibungen hervor.

Im zweiten Teil wird eine Darstellung der Fätimidenkunst gegeben, soweit sie bis heute erhalten geblieben ist, in erster Linie unter Berücksichtigung der Bestände des Arabischen Museums, ergänzt durch Hinweise auf wichtige Stücke in anderen Sammlungen. Zaky Hassan gibt in einzelnen Kapiteln dem Leser Einblick in die verschiedenen Techniken, von denen wir charakteristische Beispiele besitzen: Malerei, Kalligraphie, Einbände, Stoffe, Keramik, Glas, Mosaik, Holzschnitzerei, Elfenbein, Metall. Dabei rechnet er die Normannenzeit Siziliens mit guter Begründung ebenfalls der fätimidischen Epoche zu.

Unter den Abbildungen, die diesen Teil illustrieren, zeigen einige Gegenstände, deren Zuschreibung an den Fätimidenstil nicht ganz einwandfrei erscheint, so die sonderbare Zeichnung mit zwei Kriegern im Arabischen Museum (Taf. 1), das Berliner Koranblatt (Taf. 2), der Seidenstoff in Brüssel (Taf. 18) und die grosse Bergkristallvase in Wien (Taf. 40). Unter den übrigen Stücken ist eine ganze Reihe bisher garnicht oder an schwer zugänglicher Stelle veröffentlicht, sodass das Tafelmaterial auch denjenigen von Nutzen sein wird, die den arabischen Text nicht zu lesen vermögen.

Der Verfasser hat mit dieser wichtigen und in jeder Hinsicht erfreulichen Publikation zur Verbreitung der Kenntnis islamischer Kunstprobleme im Orient selbst erneut beigetragen, und wir dürfen uns von seiner Tätigkeit in dieser Richtung für die Zukunft noch viele Erfolge versprechen.

ERNST KÜHNEL

A Study of Some Early Islamic Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. By Nancy Pence Britton. Boston: Mus. Fine Arts, 1938. Pp. 89, 24 pls. \$3.50.

Die Arbeit bietet in handlicher Form einen sehr gewissenhaften und zuverlässigen Katalog der islamischen Stoffe aus ägyptischen Gräbern, die in der von Miss Townsend vorzüglich geleiteten Stoffsammlung des Bostoner Museums aufbewahrt werden.

Die Gruppierung des Materials, die technischen Angaben, Lesung und Übersetzung der Inschriften lassen die grosse Sorgfalt erkennen, mit der die Verfasserin vorgegangen ist und machen ihr alle Ehre.

Nach einer kurzen Einführung über die arabische Kalligraphie, über die Bedeutung des *Ṭirāz* und über die technischen Eigentümlichkeiten teilt Mrs. Britton die Fragmente so ein, dass sie erst die Erzeugnisse Mesopotamiens vom 8.–10. Jahrhundert behandelt, dann die besonders zahlreichen aus Ägypten, in chronologischer Folge, und schliesslich die wenigen Beispiele vom Yemen und aus Persien. Es folgt eine Zeittafel, eine sehr nützliche Bibliographie über den *Ṭirāz* und eine kurze Liste der in europäischen Übersetzungen vorliegenden einschlägigen arabischen Autoren. Die vorangestellte Karte der wichtigen Textilzentren ist etwas unzulänglich; es fehlen Orte wie Tinnīs, Mōsul, Nishāpūr u.a.

Die Charakterisierung der beiden *Ṭirāz*-typen als "public factory owned by merchants who sold their goods publicly" und "private factory, generally placed in the palace of the ruler" (p. 19) ist nicht ganz zutreffend. Das Wesentliche ist doch, dass sie beide staatlich kontrolliert waren, und dass der "Privat*ṭirāz*" zwar ausschliesslich für den Hof arbeitete, aber in keiner Weise an die Residenz gebunden war. Der Stoff Fig. 28 gibt in der Hinsicht einen besonders interessanten Aufschluss: wörtlich dieselbe Inschrift, nur vollständiger, findet sich auf einem von mir publizierten Muṭī'-Stoff in Berlin, mit dem Unterschied, dass das Bostoner Stück im Hof*ṭirāz*, das Berliner im öffentlichen *Ṭirāz* von *Ṣhaṭā* hergestellt wurde; der Name des Intendanten—

nicht des Vezirs, wie p. 46 angenommen wird—ist derselbe, d.h. ihm unterstanden beide Institute.

Die Gruppe der Faiyūm-Stoffe ist klar herausgehoben. Ob in Oberägypten Wirkereien ausschliesslich aus Wolle hergestellt wurden (p. 44), muss noch zweifelhaft bleiben; zu den von Nāṣir-i Khusraw erwähnten feinen Turbanstoffen aus Wolle dürften auch solche mit Seidenstreifen gehört haben. Fig. 16 mit Tieren in Medaillons scheint mir als "8.-9. Jahrhundert" etwas zu früh angesetzt. Die Zuschreibung der prächtigen Stickereien Fig. 11-12 an Baghdād, 10. Jahrhundert, ist durchaus einleuchtend.

Bei der Lesung der Inschriften ist die Verfasserin von R. Guest, R. Ettinghausen, Miss Day u.a. in dankenswerter Weise unterstützt worden. Bei Fig. 4 ist die Lesung von Ettinghausen "Madīnat al-Salām" in der Reproduktion nicht zu überprüfen; die Angabe wäre besonders wichtig, weil es sich um einen 932 datierten und zuverlässig auf Baghdād lokalisierbaren Mulḥam handeln würde. Miss Day ist zu beneiden, dass sie mit den komplizierten Texten von Fig. 40 und 44 fertig geworden ist. In Fig. 48 lese ich mit ihr unbedenklich fī ṭirāz al-'āmma al-sharkī; mit späteren Daten kommt ausser dem Hofṭirāz in Damiette nur noch ein öffentlicher vor—der von Tūna—und es wäre durchaus denkbar, das ein zweiter als der "östliche" Ṭirāz bezeichnet wurde.

Fig. 83 ist als besonders wichtige Erwerbung des Bostoner Museums zu begrüßen, weil der mit breiten Wirkstreifen, vorwiegend in goldgelber Seide, verzierte Stoff den Namen das Fāṭimiden al-Ḥāfiẓ trägt und so eine zuverlässige Handhabe gibt, die an sich zahlreiche Gruppe mit Naskhītexten in dieselbe Zeit, etwa 1130-50, anzusetzen.

Die Ausführung der Abbildungen in gutem Lichtdruck ist sehr zu loben, und es wäre zu wünschen, dass die im letzten Jahrzehnt so zahl-

reich gewordenen Bestände anderer Sammlungen in derselben vorbildlichen Weise publiziert würden.

ERNST KÜHNEL

✓ *Medieval Finds at Al Mina in North Syria.* By Arthur Lane. Oxford, 1938 (Reprint from *Archaeologia*, LXXXVII). Pp. 19-78, Pl. XVI-XXVIII, Figs. 1-15. The site described by Sir Leonard Woolley, pp. 24-27. The Arabic inscriptions read by Mr. Rhuvon Guest, p. 76.

This long article is the detailed account of the British Museum excavations at al-Mīnā, the seaport of Antioch, for the medieval period. After the publications of Baalbek, Damascus, 'Atlīt, and Hama, this, of al-Mīnā, is the fifth to throw light on the Islamic art of Syria. The wares of al-Mīnā, which Mr. Lane was kind enough to show me in April, 1939, are particularly of interest in connection with the pottery of two other sites in North Syria, Antioch (to be published by Mr. F. O. Waage) and Tarsus, situated in Cilicia, but Syrian in culture (to be published by the reviewer). The British Museum and Mr. Lane are to be congratulated on having so promptly published the material from al-Mīnā, and in thus having made it available to all those interested in Islamic art.

It goes without saying that the form of the publication is excellent. The plates are large enough so that much material can be shown, and the photographs are so beautifully clear that the smallest detail is apparent. The drawings offer a valuable departure from the run of archaeological drawings: besides the usual schematic profile section drawings, which are, of course, abstractions, there are also drawings giving the full view of the pots, as they actually appear (Figs. 3-6). There are also very good realistic drawings of the glass (Fig. 13), various small finds (Fig. 14), and the Arabic inscriptions (Fig.

15). The fact that the material is not presented in catalogue form makes the article very readable.

The historical survey (pp. 20-24) is followed by Sir Leonard Woolley's description of the site and its medieval levels (pp. 24-27). The pottery, which is the main body of the material, is taken up in chronological order—a method far superior to that of arranging it by ceramic types, that is, dividing it into glazed and unglazed pottery. The first section on pottery, "(a) Coptic pottery," takes little space (pp. 27-28); the "(b) Pottery of the ninth to tenth century A.D." comprises the imported "Samarra wares" and the local wares made under their influence (pp. 28-42); and the third section is entitled "(c) Pottery of the Crusader's period: mainly thirteenth century, before 1268" (pp. 42-61). The "Glass" is very carefully and expertly discussed (pp. 61-74); and the "Other objects" (pp. 74-76) and the "Inscriptions" (pp. 76-78) complete the contents.

The survey of the history of the site, though dependent on secondary sources for the Islamic periods, is inclusive and is always correlated with the material found. The early Islamic period was terminated by the Byzantine invasion of 968-69; and the same applies to Antioch and Tarsus as well. For the Byzantine and Crusading periods, interruptions into Islamic civilization, the author's treatment is fresh, and he pays especial attention to trade relations between the Syrian coast and Europe. I was somewhat startled to find the Oriental inhabitants of the land referred to as "the enemy" (p. 22), for it is to the invading Westerners that that term might be more properly applied.

In discussing the "Pottery of the ninth to tenth century" (pp. 28-42), Lane holds to the Mesopotamian origin of the so-called Samarra wares. Indeed, no one today could seriously accept the theory of either Egyptian or Persian

origin. It is suggested, further, that no luster was made in Egypt until the beginning of the Fatimid period; the famous bowl with the elephant and the inscription "The work of Ibrahim in Egypt," published by Wiet,¹ is cited, for instance, as belonging to that period. Actually, there exists as yet neither proof nor disproof for the manufacture of luster in Egypt under the Tulunids, but it is known that the ninth-century Samarra wares were imported at that time into Egypt. At al-Mīnā were found two varieties of the luster painted on the white tin glaze: that with one color of luster (a greenish gold) and that called "brown and yellow," such as was found at Kairouan, as well as at Samarra. This variety known from many other sites (illustrated in Pl. XVI, 1, A, B) is actually not two-colored, but is painted in three colors: greenish gold, warm gold, and dark brown. A very beautiful piece, also imported from Mesopotamia, is the pure white five-ribbed bowl, imitating white Chinese porcelain (Pl. XVI, 2), now one of the gems of the British Museum. The blue and white class was absent at al-Mīnā.

Another type of the Samarra wares, called here "glazed relief-ware, with or without lustre," was represented at al-Mīnā by a single shard (Pl. XVIII, 1, B). I agree in considering this type to be perfectly Mesopotamian in origin.

A single contemporary shard (ninth century) came from Egypt; it is in relief, with green and orange-yellow glazes, with an inscription in Arabic which reads either "al-Naṣrī," or "al-Baṣrī." Lane has meanwhile published a series of similar shards from Egypt, having the same potter's name;² I wish to remark parenthetically, that from the point of view of Arabic the reading

¹ G. Wiet, "Deux pièces de céramique égyptienne," *Ars Islamica*, III (1936), Pt. 2, 172-79, Figs. 1-3.

² A. Lane, "Glazed Relief Ware of the Ninth Century A.D.," *Ars Islamica*, VI (1939), Pt. 1, 56-65, Figs. 1, D, 2, C, and 7.

"al-Baṣrī" is the more probable. As Herzfeld pointed out in 1925 (concerning the fragment from Akhmim in Berlin) this part of a man's name is the "nisba," describing the place of origin; and no town in Egypt corresponds.³ Lane had already quoted (p. 30) the Arabic writer of the ninth century, Ya'qūbī, who recorded that potters were commanded to be brought to Samarra from Kufa and Basra.

Green, ocher, and brown sgraffito wares, both imported from Mesopotamia and made locally, were found at al-Mīnā, as is true also of Tarsus (Pls. XVII–XVIII and profiles in Fig. 2). Aside from mentioning parallels found at Samarra, Lane does not analyze the style of this early sgraffito—a style expressed at Samarra not only in the sgraffito pottery but also in stucco and painted beams. One peculiarity at al-Mīnā is a sort of negative sgraffito, in which the design was incised in a mold, coming out in relief on the bowl (Pl. XVIII, 1, A). Even if the technique were not unique in Islamic pottery, the coarse and unsophisticated designs would proclaim its provincial origin, as compared with the finer imported sgraffito bowls.

In one detail of the classification of the painted lead-glazed pottery of the ninth to tenth centuries I disagree. Together with the sgraffito ware is grouped a type of lead-glazed pottery having a white slip: "Second, those in which the colours are painted on in definite designs, still without engraving." This is illustrated by a bowl in Plate XVI, 3, having "a design of buds radiating from a dotted hexagon, painted in purple with petals and dots of green and yellow-brown. A somewhat similar design is shown by a bowl of the 'blue-and-green' family from Samarra" (p. 36). Thus Lane himself seems to feel that

this painted type is stylistically different from the sgraffito types. In my opinion this bowl should rather be classed with the next group, "Wares with underglaze painting" (p. 37, and Pl. XIX, 1). The glaze of this class is also the lead glaze. It is stated that "the decoration is painted directly on the clay *without an intervening white slip*, the outlines being in dark brown or purple, and most of the ground filled in with a thick mustard-yellow, opaque *white*, or green" (the italics are mine). Surely the *white* at the end of the sentence is the same *white slip*, but merely used in touches, as a pigment. Thus it may be suggested that the bowl shown in Plate XVI, 3, belongs to the same underglaze painted class as the fragments shown in Plate XIX, 1, the only difference being that in the first case the slip covers the whole inner surface of the bowl, making a white background for the pattern, whereas in the second, the slip is either absent, or is used only in details of the pattern. Probably the presence or absence of the slip meant only that the potter wished to make a finer or a cheaper sort of pottery.

Lane mentions the occurrence of this class at Antioch; it is found at Tarsus in even greater quantity as well as in greater stylistic variety. In other words, it is a provincial early Abbasid style local to the whole of north Syria. It is rightly noted that this is the first appearance in Islamic art of underglaze painted designs (the painted designs of the Samarra blue and white being painted over the opaque white tin glaze, or enamel)—a method to reappear in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, as in the Rakka pottery, under a "thick, siliceous glaze." By the term siliceous glaze (a redundancy, as silica is the fundamental element in all glazes, as well as in glass) I take it that alkaline is meant, as opposed to the other glazes containing lead or tin.

Still in the ninth to tenth centuries comes a variety of unglazed pottery (pp. 38–42), which

³ E. Herzfeld, "Epigraphisches," Anhang I, in F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra* (Berlin, 1925), II, 82, Fig. 173.



FIG. 1—SGRAFFITO BOWLS, *a* FROM AL-MINĀ; *b* FROM HAMA

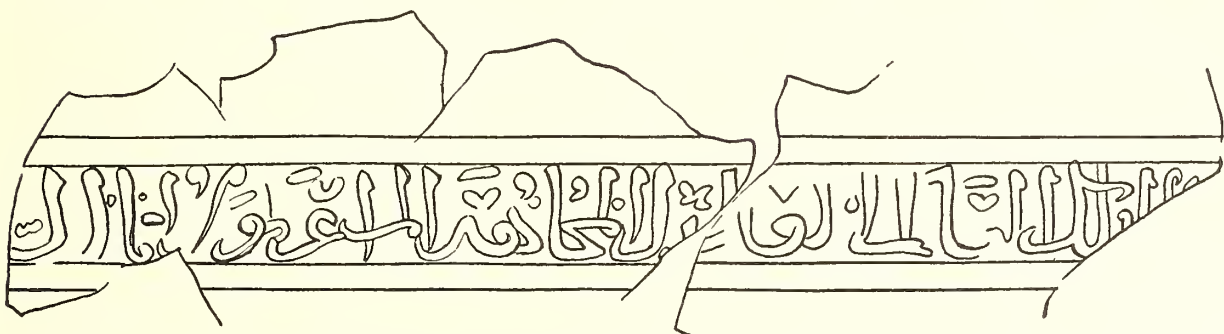


FIG. 2—SGRAFFITO BOWL, AL-MINĀ



بر دلة

FIG. 4—SHARD, UNDERGLAZE PAINTING, AL-MINĀ



[لطان الملك العالم العادل المجاهد المرابط ط] عزّ ملو لا نا الله

FIG. 3—GLASS FROM AL-MINĀ

is treated briefly. Fine pressed ware, that is, made in sections in molds (Pls. XIX, 2, C, XX, 2, C, and the unlettered shards), is a type which in my opinion may have begun during the eighth century; two pieces have Kufic inscriptions (Fig. 15, D, E). This is a class also found at Tarsus as well as at Samarra. Undecorated jugs of equally archaic types (Pl. XIX, 2, A; Fig. 3, A) are probably contemporary; together, in my opinion, they represent Mesopotamian influence. An unglazed lamp, molded in two halves (Fig. 6, D), is not "of a type common in Egypt" (p. 39), but is purely Syrian, and very early at that, representing the transition from the late Roman or Early Christian to the early Islamic type. I have seen in Syria and Palestine quantities of this type, both in museums, such as the Archaeology Museum of the American University, Beirut, and the Moslem Museum, in the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, Jerusalem, and in dealers' shops. On the other hand this type is represented by only three or four examples in the Musée Arabe, Cairo, whereas there are shown there about fifty examples of a slightly different, and later type, whose ornament is influenced by the Samarra style, and whose date may therefore be of the tenth century. And this Egyptian lamp is found in Syria in lesser quantity. Other types of unglazed lamps, which are not molded, but wheel-made (Fig. 6, A, B, C), are also attributed to Egypt (p. 42); they, as well as the molded class, are equally typical of Syria.

Another interesting class of unglazed pottery has incised decoration; its material is both fine white clay (Pl. XX, 2, A, B, and Fig. 3, G and K) and the coarse red clay of cooking ware (Pl. XIX, B, Fig. 5, A). It is assigned to the ninth to tenth centuries. On page 40 reference is made to unglazed incised pottery from the Metropolitan Museum excavations at Nishapur; unfortunately, it is not correlated with this class (actually the style is identical), nor is it stated that the date of the Nishapur jug is late eighth or early

ninth century. Such a question as the artistic relations between Khurasan and the Mediterranean coast is one that might have proved interesting to consider. Of ordinary undecorated cooking pots one shape is also known at Samarra (Fig. 5, C), and the others may be purely local.

The third section, "(c) Pottery of the Crusaders' period: mainly thirteenth century, before 1268" (pp. 42-61), has seven subdivisions, as follows: "Byzantine wares" (pp. 42-45), "Sgraffiato-ware of the Crusading period" (pp. 45-53), "Cypriote Sgraffiato-ware" (pp. 53-54), "Painted ware of the thirteenth century" (pp. 54-58), "Rakka ware" (pp. 58-59), "Egyptian ware of the Ayyubid period" (p. 60), and finally "Italian and later wares" (pp. 60-61). These different groups give an indication of the variety of peoples and influences in Syrian civilization in the later Middle Ages.

The Byzantines held the town of al-Mīnā from 986 or 987 till the coming of the Seljuks in 1081; eighteen coins of this time were found (pp. 21-22). The monochrome cream-colored sgraffito pottery of the Byzantines (shown in Plate XX, 1) was doubtless imported; it corresponds to excavated pottery of the eleventh century from Greece.⁴ A few other varieties (pp. 42-45), which came and went on the outskirts of the Islamic world without affecting future styles, will be of more interest to Byzantinists than to Islamic art historians.

The Seljuk occupation, lasting nearly twenty years, from 1081 to 1098 (p. 22), is not mentioned under pottery, or glass, or other finds. Was the town perhaps temporarily abandoned? Four Seljuk coins (uncertain) of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries were found.⁵

⁴ M. A. Frantz, "Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens," *Hesperia*, VII (1938), 3, Figs. 7, 8, and 9.

⁵ E. S. G. Robinson, "Coins from the Excavations at al-Mina, 1936," *Numismatic Chronicle*, XVII (1937), 194. The Oriental coins were identified by Mr. J. Walker of the British Museum.

In the section entitled "Sgraffiato-ware of the Crusading period" (pp. 45-53), Lane assumes, since a few kiln-wasters of sgraffito pottery were found, that all of the sgraffito ware in this level was made locally, and in the pre-Mameluke or Crusading period before Baibars captured the town in 1268. He also claims that all similar pottery excavated at 'Atlīt on the Palestinian coast, Hama in Central Syria, Korykos and Tarsus in Cilicia, was made at al-Mīnā (or Port St. Symeon, the name given by the Crusaders to the site) and exported from it. He therefore groups all this pottery together and calls it "Port St. Symeon ware" (p. 52). These conclusions seem unwarranted by the facts, since they are not sufficiently supported by the dates and conclusions of the other excavators concerned.

The reasons given for dating this sgraffito pottery before 1268 are as follows. The Crusaders occupied the region about Antioch for a hundred and seventy years, from 1098 to 1268 A.D. (pp. 22-23). After Saladin captured Latakia in 1188, al-Mīnā, the second port for Antioch, became more important to the Europeans; "the evidence of coins suggests that it hardly came into existence before the end of the twelfth century" (p. 23). Again, "the great majority of the coins date from the first half of the thirteenth century, and the style of the local pottery is *so uniform as to suggest* that it covers a similarly short period" (p. 23, the italics are mine). "After 1268 the site reverted to agriculture. Not a fragment of Mameluke pottery was found, and only one or two later coins" (p. 24). It is not strange to find that no Egyptian pottery of the Mameluke period was exported into al-Mīnā, because Syria, during the Mameluke period and under Mameluke governors, was producing its own local pottery, as the excavations at Baalbek, 'Atlīt, Damascus, and Hama show.

The kiln-wasters found at al-Mīnā are exceedingly important, because no sgraffito kiln-wasters have been found at Hama, or Tarsus.

These al-Mīnā wasters and the finished shards like them are illustrated in Plate XXVI, 1. It is to be regretted that profile drawings of them were not included. The wasters are rims of bowls only; to judge by the light and shadow of the photographs, they seem straight, like the rim of the straight-sided bowl in Figure 8, F, which is a shape not found at Tarsus; at Hama the shape is merely described as "la forme la plus fréquente est celle d'une coupe à pied."⁶ Again, the style of the kiln-wasters is not paralleled by any pottery I have seen from either Hama or Tarsus. Indeed, I feel that of the pottery here illustrated, only certain examples have the same style as the kiln-wasters, namely, the two complete bowls in Plate XXVI, 2 and 3, the bowls in Plate XXV, 1-4, Plate XXIII, 2, and a few of the rims of Plate XXI, 1 and 2. This group has a marked similarity to the 'Atlīt pottery of the Crusader period from 1217-91, on which appear the Crusaders' triangular shields.⁷ At 'Atlīt was found a kiln, disused, but Mr. Johns described no kiln-wasters. In this connection Lane says: "Until convinced by further evidence I prefer to regard the Atlīt sgraffiato-ware as imported from al-Mina" (p. 46). Is it impossible that this class of pottery may have been made locally at both sites during the Crusader occupation? The Crusader period at al-Mīnā was ended in 1268, but at 'Atlīt it lasted twenty-three years longer, till 1291.

An important contribution is the analysis of the pigments of the kiln-wasters, made by Dr. D. V. Thompson of the Courtauld Institute of Art (pp. 46-47). The green of the finished product is from copper oxide, the yellowish brown from iron oxide, and the dark purplish brown is

⁶H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne des fouilles de Hama* (Copenhagen, 1934), p. 35.

⁷C. N. Johns, "Mediaeval Slip-ware from Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlīt (1930-1)," *Quart. Dept. Antiquities in Palestine*, III (1934), 139-40, Pls. LIV-LV.

from manganese. On the wasters, which had not received the second firing, these pigments appear as other colors.

Though the kiln-wasters of al-Mīnā belong with some of the sgraffito pottery of the site, and with the specifically Crusader pottery of 'Atlīt, yet this group is only a portion of the sgraffito pottery excavated at al-Mīnā. I venture to suggest that the class of sgraffito ware as a whole is not homogeneous, and that other styles besides that of the kiln-wasters may be differentiated.

As a second type I suggest pottery having large figures richly decorated with all-over ornament, and the background filled up with space-filling designs; as, a rider in chain mail on his horse, probably representing a Crusader (Pl. XXIV, 2), on a bowl which has an undecorated rim, and some fragments with birds (pl. XXII, A-D). Of the latter, Lane himself admits the stylistic difference, for the bird in Plate XXII, 1, AA, is on a bowl whose exterior is covered with slip and glaze (while all other types have the exterior unglazed, save for a bit running over the rim), and of it he says: "I should reckon these examples to be the earliest we found, dating from the end of the twelfth or the very beginning of the thirteenth century" (p. 47). An Arabic inscription is on the shard in Plate XXII, 1, D. These first two types of 'Atlīt and al-Mīnā were absent from Tarsus.

A third type which I wish to distinguish has some detail, both in the figures and in the space-fillers of the background, but it is less minute than that in my second group, and the rim of this sort of bowl has a pleasant leafy rinceau picked out by small spots of green and brown. Examples are given in Plate XXIV, 1, B, and, of one rim fragment, in Plate XXI, 2, in the bottom row. The shape of bowl on which these designs appear (according to the illustrations) is the hemispherical bowl with sharply turned out, wide rim, the profile drawing being in Figure 8, A. This type

is found at Tarsus. The rinceau on the rim is found also at 'Atlīt, although there the pattern in the center of the bowl differs from patterns associated with this rinceau at both Tarsus and al-Mīnā;⁸ at 'Atlīt a Crusader's triangular shield appears in the center.

What constitutes, in my opinion, a fourth type, has bigger and bolder designs, drawn in a free and dashing manner; the background is much more empty, and if any detail is present it is not minute, but both actually and relatively larger, and there is no hatching or cross-hatching. Birds and human figures appear, but more often simply geometrical patterns. Rims of this type (and also rims of some other types!) are shown in Plate XXI, centers of bowls in Plate XXII, 2 (except for the cross and the shield), a rayed face in Plate XXIII, B (here *Fig. 2*)—which is drawn in exactly the same way as the face of the seated figure with a wine cup in Plate XXIV, 1, A (here *Fig. 1, a*). These specific pieces are all duplicated at Tarsus, and the seated figure with a wine cup, at Hama (here *Fig. 1, b*), which means that this, my fourth type, belongs to the early Mameluke period, going through the fourteenth century. The shapes of this type are both the bowl with out-turned rim (*Fig. 8, A, B*) and various bowls in which the side and rim turn in (*Fig. 8, C, D, E, G, J, K*).

It is the work of the Danish expedition at Hama, directed by Dr. Harold Ingholt, which settles this dating. The scarcity of Mameluke coins at al-Mīnā (during the season of 1936 one Mameluke coin of about 1350, Damascus, was found)⁹ does not invalidate their presence at Hama, for the whole excavated Islamic level of Hama belongs between the end of the twelfth and the end of the fourteenth centuries, and most of it is not before the fourteenth.¹⁰ Indeed,

⁸ Johns, *op. cit.*, Pl. LV, *Fig. 2*, pp. 138-41.

⁹ Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95.

¹⁰ Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

Lane himself (p. 50) compared the seated figure holding a wine cup (Plate XXIV, 1, A) with the Hama woman drinking wine,¹¹ but he did not refer to the dating of the bowl, which is of the early Mameluke period. (See my *Fig. 1, a* and *b*, and *Fig. 2*.)

Local pottery dating from the early Mameluke period was excavated at 'Atlit. Of this Lane remarked: "I cannot agree with the suggestion made by Mr. Johns in publishing his finds, that the barred medallion in the middle of some of the bowls is a Mameluke heraldic device pointing to an Egyptian origin; the known sgraffiato-ware of the Mameluke period is completely different in style and technique, while the motive in question, or something very like it, is seen on fragments from Byzantine sites where Egyptian connections are out of the question" (p. 45). Certainly the Mameluke pottery made in Egypt is different from the pottery made in Syria during the period of Mameluke domination. But a glance at Dr. Mayer's *Saracenic Heraldry*¹² will convince the reader of the correctness of Mr. Johns' statement. Further, the pottery dating "from the Mamluk occupation of 'Atlit during the fourteenth century"¹³ is very different in style from the Crusader sgraffito pottery of both 'Atlit and al-Mīnā, and Mameluke coats of arms are found in monuments all over Palestine and Syria, even in Cilicia, monuments varying from architecture to small arts like those of metal and glass.¹⁴

Indeed, one of the choicest finds at al-Mīnā

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. X, 2.

¹² L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933).

¹³ Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Plate LVI. This type of pottery had previously been published by Johns, "Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)," *Quart. Dept. Antiquities in Palestine*, I (1932), 129, and Pl. LIII, Fig. 2, Nos. 6-10.

¹⁴ For Mameluke coats of arms on unglazed pottery, see J. Sauvaget, *Poteries Syro-Mésopotamiennes du XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1932), Pl. 29-44.

is the remains of a conical glass beaker, made in Syria, belonging probably to the Mameluke period. These fragments are shown in Figure 13, A and B. Of them Lane says: "The fragments with inscriptions and fishes would be placed by Lamm in his *spärlich emaillierte, kleinfigurige Damaskus-Gruppe*, about 1250-1310 (cf. *Gläser*, Pl. 144)." As these pieces are not included in the section on the inscriptions (pp. 76-78), I give here a translation (see my *Fig. 3*). Transcribed, the inscription running continuously on shards A and B, is: "Izz li-mawlānā al-su(ltān al-Ma)-lik, al-'ālim, al-'ādil, al-mudjāhid, al-murābiṭ." The translation goes: "Glory to our Lord, the Su(ltān, al-Ma)lik, the wise, the just, the defender of the faith, the warrior at the frontiers."

The style of the letters is early Mameluke, consonant with the date given above. The content is equally Mameluke. It is the usual form of the royal protocol, though condensed and shortened. Following the word *al-Malik* should come the title, as, al-Malik al-Mu'aiyad, or, al-Malik al-Nāṣir. The epithets al-'ālim, al-'ādil are usual in Syria and Palestine during the thirteenth century,¹⁵ as well as later. The following two epithets, al-mudjāhid, al-murābiṭ, always used together, are also found in similar inscriptions (neatly described by the term *inscriptions mobilières*) in the period from 1250 to about 1320 A.D.¹⁶ I have not sufficient material at hand to make any generalizations about Mameluke terminology; suffice it to say that these two epithets became part of a series (al-mudjāhid, al-murābiṭ, al-muthāghir, al-mu'aiyad, al-muṣaffar, al-manṣūr) referring to the holy war,

¹⁵ E. Herzfeld, "A Bronze Pen-case," *Ars Islamica*, III (1936), Pt. 1, 36.

¹⁶ M. von Berchem, "Notes d'archéologie arabe (troisième article)," *Journ. Asiatique*, X sér., X (1904), as follows: No. II, pp. 40 ff (1250-95); No. IV, pp. 46-47 (dated in 1302-3); No. V, pp. 48-49 (1296-1321).

which was in favor under al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Mameluke Sultan off and on between 1293 and 1340 A.D.¹⁷ The Mameluke glass from al-Mīnā may be a source of gratification to the British Museum, for it has an inscription much better preserved than most of the inscriptions of the same class published by Lamm in his *magnum opus*.

It is to be hoped that this comparison of some of the sgraffito pottery with the similar pottery of the Mameluke period of Hama and Tarsus and the presence of the Mameluke glass will have indicated that the site of al-Mīnā may have continued to be occupied during that period. Lane has very ably discussed the Oriental and Islamic nature of this class of pottery: "Byzantine influence plays little part; the makers were probably native Syrians (the only legible inscription is in Arabic), and supplements to their own invention were mainly drawn from the Islamic hinterland" (p. 51). Again: "The use of green, brown" (or yellow-brown) "and purple" (or manganese) "colouring in conjunction with an engraved design had begun at Samarra in the ninth century and become a firmly rooted tradition in the Islamic lands of the nearer East" (p. 52). In fact the Crusaders contributed nothing but the iconographical detail of their pointed shields to this art. During the Crusading period "such inland cities as Aleppo, Ḥamāh, Ḥims, Ba'labakk, and Damascus were never conquered."¹⁸ It is now known, thanks to M. Jean Sauvaget, that the sgraffito bowl with a mounted archer, in the British Museum,¹⁹ was found at

Aleppo: "J'ajouterais . . . , 1, que le plat décoré d'un archer provient effectivement d'Alep où je l'ai vu en 1926 quelques heures après qu'il eut été découvert au fond d'un puits;—2, que ce type de céramique est très largement représenté sur le champs de ruines de Syrie (spécialement de Syrie Nord) et de Haute-Mésopotamie."²⁰ In other words, I suggest that the sgraffito pottery of al-Mīnā, whether before, during, or after the Crusader period, should be considered simply as a branch of the Syrian sgraffito pottery, which extended from the heart of the country to its coasts, and was exported even as far west as Italy.

Of the class "Cypriote sgraffiato-ware" (pp. 53–54) only a few shards were found at al-Mīnā (Pl. XXVII, I, J, K, L). The author believes that they must have been imported to that site before 1268. But is there not a possibility, considering the Mameluke pottery and glass of al-Mīnā, that they may have been imported at a later date? Sgraffito pottery of the brown and green type from two sites in Cyprus, Ayios Mamas and Chrysanayiotissa, continued through the fourteenth century.²¹

The section "Painted ware of the thirteenth century" (pp. 54–58) gives an admirable account and discussion of this pottery, painted in pale cobalt blue, manganese, and olive green (or rather, a dull umber) on a white background. This pottery had previously been found by Mr. Johns at 'Atlīt, and by Mr. Waage at Corinth. The few shards found at al-Mīnā, in the thirteenth-century level, have also been analyzed by

Islamic Pottery of the Near East (London, 1932), Fig. 39, p. 31.

²⁰ J. Sauvaget, "Abstracta Islamica," *Revue des études islamiques*, 1938, Cahier I, p. 26. A review of Hobson "Syria or Cyprus?" *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), 467–68.

²¹ J. du Plat Taylor, "Medieval Graves in Cyprus," *Ars Islamica*, V (1938), Pt. 1, the brown-and-green sgraffito wares, pp. 81–83.

¹⁷ M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Deuxième partie, Syrie du Sud: Jerusalem* (Cairo, 1920–27), II (Ḥaram), 111–15, No. 170. Compare also No. 282, pp. 422–23, also of al-Malik al-Nāṣir.

¹⁸ P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937), p. 643.

¹⁹ R. L. Hobson, *British Museum Guide to the Is-*

Dr. Thompson, and it was proved that the white background is a white tin enamel. A second contribution is the discovery of a new shape of this ware (Fig. 7, C) namely, a bowl with a turned-out rim having a raised ridge at its inner edge—a feature evidently derived from the sgraffito ware of the same period. A few other fragments (Pl. XXVII, 2 B B B) are painted in green, ocher, and brown, showing “a conscious attempt to imitate the appearance of sgraffiato-ware” (p. 55) in painting. A list of other sites where this class of pottery has been found is given: Hama,²² Merbaka and Gastouni in Greece, south Italian sites, Sicily, and Pisa; Plate XXV, 5, shows a bowl of the ‘Atlīt type which had been built into a church tower at Pisa (pp. 56–57). The relation of this ware to the early pottery of Orvieto is discussed (a very important question in ceramic history); and it is concluded that its place of origin must have been in Palestine or Syria. This conclusion is directly the opposite of that of Mr. Johns, for a bowl having a deer with antlers was found at ‘Atlīt, and deer with antlers do not inhabit Syria or Palestine, but only more northern countries.²³ Lane suggests Tripoli on the Syrian coast as the place of its origin, because it is as yet unexplored, and because the Latins remained there until 1189 (p. 57, evidently a misprint for 1289) the date of its capture by the Mameluke Sultan Ḳalā’ūn. Finally, it is suggested that this ware must have been made by European potters—a possible suggestion, as the whole style of it is alien to the Islamic tradition.

“Rakka ware” (pp. 58–59), “Egyptian ware of the Ayyubid period” (p. 60), and “Italian and later wares” (pp. 60–61) need not detain us, being all very scantily represented.

²² This was not published by Ingholt.

²³ Johns, “Mediaeval Slip-ware . . .,” Pl. L, Fig. 1, and p. 141: “the stag with antlers, a species which does not occur south of the Taurus.”

The section, “Glass” (pp. 61–74), is one of the most valuable, because of the author’s understanding of the technical problems and his scholarly treatment of the various periods represented. Some types, whose dates were previously unknown, can now be dated, on the basis of these excavations at al-Mīnā. I shall not go into the glass of the late Roman period (pp. 62–64), save to mention that several characteristics are noted by which Roman glass may be distinguished from Islamic glass. In the next subdivision, “(b) Arab period, mainly ninth to tenth centuries” are described undecorated glass; cut glass (very rare at this site); diamond-engraved glass (one example), which is also known in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and the Caucasus; molded and stamped glass, also found at Samarra; and glass with tonged decoration. The rarest variety is the “Glass decorated in gold and coloured enamels between double walls” (the *Zwischengoldglas*), a technique used in Roman times. One fragment with a double-headed bird is in the Victoria and Albert Museum; a second is in the Louvre; both of these are supposed to be Fatimid and Egyptian. The third piece in existence is that found at al-Mīnā (Fig. 13, E). The decoration, based on Kufic letters, is in gold with spots of blue. In my opinion it cannot be post-Fatimid, which Lane suggests: the epigraphical style is that of the ninth century. The difference in appearance from the inscriptions painted on the Samarra pottery is due to the difference in technique: on the glass the gold letters are produced by the scraping away of the background. I also suggest a Mesopotamian origin for this rare fragment of glass; the touches of blue enamel are just like the touches of green and yellow enamel on Samarra pottery.²⁴

Of the glass decorated with enamel and gilding the Mameluke example has already been dis-

²⁴ Sarre and Herzfeld, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, Pls. VII and VIII, pp. 30–31, Nos. 120–24.

cussed. Two others are shown in Figure 13: C has the figure of a standing person, and D-D illustrates a pattern of geometric strapwork and leafy scrolls done in gold and red, blue, and white enamel. Both are probably of the thirteenth century.

Among the various small finds, entitled "Other objects" (pp. 74-76) most are pre-Islamic (Fig. 14). An Islamic lamp carved in soft gray stone was found; it is of a type known from Khurasan to the Mediterranean.

The "Inscriptions" (pp. 76-78) were read by Mr. Rhuvon Guest. No. 1 (Fig. 15A) is part of a marble grave stone, dating probably from the tenth century. Only a few words are visible in each of four lines. No. 2 (Fig. 15, D) is from the base of an unglazed jar, molded in relief, dating probably from the eighth to ninth centuries: after the word "made by" comes the potter's name, perhaps Badr or Bakr. No. 3 is from the same class of pottery (Pl. XX, 2, C, C; and Fig. 15, E); the inscription seems to be completely illegible. No. 4 is from the local type of pottery painted under a lead glaze, of the ninth to tenth centuries (Pl. XIX, 1; Fig. 15, C); Mr. Guest suggests that it may be a name, perhaps beginning with *Abū*. No. 5 is from a dish in relief with green and yellow glazes, bearing an inscription which can be read either "al-Naṣrī" or "al-Baṣrī," as was mentioned above. No. 6, from the type of the thirteenth century sgraffito having no green and brown on it (Pl. XXII, 1, D), is in Neskhi, and Mr. Guest reads it as *babaghā* ("parrot"). In my opinion the final letter looks more like a *lām* than an *alif*, but to judge from the photograph alone is not sufficient.

I suggest that the Mameluke enameled glass offers a seventh inscription. An eighth, which was evidently also not seen by Mr. Guest, is illustrated in Plate XIX, 1, in the second row from the bottom (shown here as Fig. 4). It belongs to the class of local ninth- to tenth-century pot-

tery painted under a lead glaze. The letters are large, with heavy outlines, the center being filled in with hatching. In the photograph parts of three letters read "barak" (or "barad"), more probably the former, the beginning of the word "baraka" ("blessing"). This is merely an example of decorative script in this local ware, but No. 4 looks like handwriting.

The importance of the British Museum excavations at al-Mīnā is seen in a number of ways. For the first time a representative collection of Samarra wares has been published from a Syrian site: pure white tin glaze, luster painting on white tin glaze, relief ware with all-over luster, and sgraffito pottery. For the first time underglaze painting under a lead glaze, contemporary with Samarra, and found also at Antioch and Tarsus, has been published. To the same period belong six of the eight inscriptions. Much glass of the same period is now known to the world for the first time from an excavated Syrian site; among it a nearly unique example of the *Zwischengoldglas* technique. Thus, a mass of information is presented for the Early Islamic period in Syria.

Of the second period at al-Mīnā, two varieties of pottery have been chemically analyzed: the kiln-wasters of the sgraffito ware, and the white enamel of the painted 'Atlīt ware. Al-Mīnā is revealed as a port from which both these varieties were exported to Greece, Italy, and Sicily. A few Byzantine, Cypriote, and later Italian examples illustrate the course of medieval trade from west to east. All the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sgraffito wares exemplify the persistence of the Islamic tradition whose earliest appearance was in the ninth century in Mesopotamia. A few pieces of contemporary enameled glass are contributions to our knowledge of this particularly Syrian art. The British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum are to be congratulated on the wealth of the new material

added to the rich collections, and Lane for his treatment, at once scholarly and enthusiastic, of all the arts found at the Syrian seaport, al-Mīnā.

FLORENCE E. DAY

Famous Cities of Iran. By Laurence Lockhart. Brentford: Pearce, 1939. Pp. 115, Figs. 1-65. 7s. 6d.

The nature of this volume is clearly stated in the Preface. The sixteen chapters, previously published as separate articles in *The Naft Magazine*, describe the cities—towns would be a more accurate label—of Teheran, Isfahan, Tabriz, Meshed, Shiraz, Kazvin, Nishapur, Hamadan, Kermanshah, Yezd, Kerman, Kashan, Kum, Shushtar, Ardabil, and Bandar Abbas in a manner intended to interest past, present, and future visitors to Iran.

The author, having compiled his accounts from the records of Arab and Persian geographers and of medieval and modern travelers, takes no credit for originality. His claims are too modest, for it is clear that he has read widely and judiciously and possesses an exceptional first-hand knowledge of sites scattered over the vast expanse of Iran.

Each town has its history outlined in chronological order from legendary accounts of its founding down to its aspect at the present day. None of the material is startling, nor is it presented in polished literary style, but the discursive text is consistently interesting. Probably of greatest value are the chapters on certain towns

less well covered in the travel books of recent years—Shushtar, Bandar Abbas, Ardabil, and Kerman. Emphasis is placed upon events of the eighteenth century, a reflection of the author's special interest in this period, which has found previous outlet in his *Nadir Shah; A Critical Study Based Mainly upon Contemporary Sources*.

The illustrations are good, and at the end of each chapter there is a comprehensive list of the buildings and places of interest in or near the town. A few dates assigned to Islamic buildings could be questioned by the specialist, but a high level of accuracy has been maintained throughout the book. One feature, the recent installation of museums in several of the towns—significant for travelers in the new Iran—has been slighted. The National Museum at Teheran is listed by name. Since its opening last spring the fact that material not elsewhere available is presented in a series of most modern and carefully designed exhibits has resulted in a growing crescendo of praise. Kum has its own museum housed within the shrine precincts, where emphasis is placed upon carpets and glazed and lustered tiles. Shiraz has restored a pavilion of Karim Khan and filled it with a general collection of which the focal point is a series of fine *Korans* of great size. At Meshed the walls of a large museum building are rising within the sacred precincts and soon important treasures will be on display. The formerly inaccessible courts of the shrine are already open to accredited visitors.

DONALD N. WILBER

IN MEMORIAM
HALIL EDHEM ELDEM
(1861-1938)

On November 16, 1938, Halil Edhem Eldem died at the age of 77. With him passed away the most successful pioneer of Islamic archaeology and art history in Turkey. Born in 1861, the son of Edhem Pasha, a high government official who was later grand vizier, Halil Edhem was educated first in Istanbul at the Kaptan Ibrahim Pasha School; he was then sent abroad to complete his secondary education. He studied at the universities of Zürich, Vienna, and Bern, where he received his doctor's degree. Chemistry, the subject chosen for him by his father, never interested him, and although he studied natural science, especially geology, his inclination drew him to history and archaeology. After his return home he accepted several government posts, first as teacher in various schools and subsequently as lecturer in the University of Istanbul. It was not until 1889, when Halil Edhem became directorial assistant in the Museum of Istanbul, that he was able to follow his true vocation. In 1892 he became Second Director, and in 1910, after the death of his older brother, Hamdi Bey, he became Director General of the Museum and thus embarked on his real career, which continued until 1931, when at the age of 70 he retired from his position. Delicate in health but strong in spirit, he still retained his chair as member of the committee for the preservation of archaeological monuments and as deputy to the Kamutay, the Turkish parliament. Honors were showered upon him during his lifetime at home and abroad. He was *doctor honoris causa* of the universities of Basel and Leipzig and an Honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Society of Hellenic Studies, and of the German Archaeological Institute; he was also a member of the Consultative Committee of *Ars Islamica* from its beginnings.

When Halil Edhem started his career, Istanbul possessed only one museum, the Çinili Köşk, in which the archaeological collections were housed. In collaboration with his brother he was responsible for turning this nucleus into the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul as we know them today, among the richest in their respective fields. With loving perseverance he achieved their rearrangement, rehousing, proper classification, their division into several museums according to their contents, and their proper equipment. The original collection was small and the budget limited, but with the help of proper laws the Museum became entitled to its share in the excavations of the Ottoman Empire, which just then began to yield most important results in the Near East. Halil loved his work, and his reports—first about excavations in his own country, and then about the growth of the Museum—spread over a period of thirty years, breathe a natural pride in these achievements.

He instigated also a series of *Masterpieces of the Turkish Museums in Constantinople*, which in a beautiful form acquainted scholars with the contents of these museums.

First and foremost he was a scholar, and after excavation work his inclination toward the study of historical documents prevailed. He had an amazing gift for reading inscriptions, and

as the Museum possessed a very rich collection of Islamic coins, which were just then being studied by Ghalib Ismail and Mubarak Ghalib, what wonder that he was prompted to take up this particular branch of Islamic archaeology. His monumental catalogues of lead seals (his first published book) and of Ottoman coins remain the standard works on these subjects. Even in later years, when the study of coins occupied only a place in the background of his work, he published a bibliography of Moslem numismatics. Although he never specialized in bibliographical work, the book is a great improvement on its two predecessors, and the preface is a concise introduction to the field of Islamic numismatics.

Most of his publications are devoted to Arabic and Turkish inscriptions. He began as Max van Berchem's collaborator in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*. Recognizing the value of this work, he published a steady stream of articles on epigraphy which throw light on numerous points of Turkish history. He did not neglect historical studies proper, among which his translation of Lane-Poole's *Mohammedan Dynasties* into Turkish, revised and brought up-to-date, deserves especial mention. One can understand the predilections of a man, who—a prominent figure in the world of scholarship of the Turkish renaissance—deliberately wrote about Turkish history in the Turkish language, but this has made his work less accessible to the wider public of scholars than it would otherwise have been.

L. A. MAYER

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